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WORLD SURVEY

A PERIODICAL REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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Workers Library Publishers, Inc., 832 Broadway (P. O. Box 148, Station D), N. Y. C.

Published March, 1942

(NO. 5).

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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STALIN'S ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE RED ARMY

Following is the text of the Order of the Day issued on Red Army Day, February 23, by Joseph Stalin, People's Commissar of Defense and Chairman of the State Defense Committee of the U.S.S.R.:

COMRADES, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, guerrillas—men and women:

The peoples of our country celebrate the 24th anniversary of the Red Army in stern days of patriotic war against fascist Germany, which is insolently and basely encroaching upon the life and freedom of our motherland.

Along a tremendous front, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, Red Army and Red Navy men are fighting fierce battles to drive the German fascist invaders from our country and safeguard the honor and independence of our motherland.

It is not the first time that the Red Army has had to defend our native land from enemy attack. The Red Army was created 24 years ago to fight the troops of foreign interventionist invaders, who strove to dismember our country and destroy its independence.

Young detachments of the Red Army—which was taking part in a war for the first time—inflicted utter defeat on the German invaders at Pskov and Narva on February 23, 1918. For this reason the day of February 23, 1918, was proclaimed the birthday of the Red Army.

After that the Red Army grew and gained strength in the struggle against the foreign interventionist invaders. It safeguarded our native land in battles with the German invaders in 1918 and drove them from the Ukraine and Byelorussia. It protected our native land in battles with foreign troops of the Entente from 1918 to 1921 and drove them from our country.

The defeat of the foreign interventionist invaders in time of civil war secured to the peoples of the Soviet Union a lasting peace and the possibility of peaceful constructive work.

During those two decades of peaceful constructive work, socialist industry and a collective agriculture grew up in our country. Science and culture flourished. The friendship of the peoples of our native land grew strong.

But the Soviet people never forgot the possibility that our enemies might make a fresh attack on our country. Therefore, simultaneously with the development of industry and agriculture, science and culture, the military strength of the Soviet Union grew also. Certain seekers of

foreign lands have felt this strength on their own hides. The much advertised German fascist army is feeling it now.

Eight months ago fascist Germany treacherously attacked our country, crudely violating a treaty of non-aggression. The enemy expected that at the very first blow the Red Army would be routed and would lose the ability to resist. But the enemy badly miscalculated. He did not realize the power of the Red Army, did not realize the strength of the Soviet rear, did not realize the determination of our country's peoples to win, did not realize the unreliability of fascist Germany's European rear, and lastly did not realize the internal weakness of fascist Germany and its army.

In the first months of the war, as a result of the unexpectedness and suddenness of the German fascist attack, the Red Army was forced to retreat and evacuate part of our territory. But, while retreating, it wore down the enemy forces and dealt them heavy blows. Neither the Red Army men nor the peoples of our country doubted that this retreat was temporary, that the enemy would be checked and then defeated.

As the war progressed, the Red Army accumulated fresh, vital strength. It was reinforced with men and equipment. It received fresh reserve divisions to assist it. There came a time when the Red Army was able to take the offensive in the principal sectors of the tremendous front. Within a short time the Red Army dealt the German fascist troops one blow after another —at Rostov-on-Don and Tikhvin, in the Crimea and at Moscow.

In the violent battles at Moscow it defeated the German fascist troops which threatened to encircle the Soviet capital. The Red Army threw the enemy back from Moscow and continues to push him westward. The Moscow and Tula Regions have been completely freed from the German invaders, as have dozens of towns and hundreds of villages in other Regions temporarily seized by the enemy.

Now the Germans no longer possess the military advantage which they had in the first months of the war by virtue of their treacherous and sudden attack. The momentum of unexpectedness and suddenness which constituted the reserve strength of the German fascist troops has been fully spent.

Thus, the inequality in the conditions under which the war is conducted, created by the suddenness of the German fascist attack, has been eliminated. Henceforward the issue of the war will not be decided by such a secondary factor as suddenness, but by such constantly operating factors as the strength of the rear, the morale of the army, the quantity and quality of the divisions, the armament of the army, the organizational abilities of the army commanders.

One circumstance should be noted in this connection: no sooner did the German arsenal lose the weapon of suddenness than the German army was confronted with catastrophe.

The German fascists consider their army invincible, asserting that man for man it can undoubtedly defeat

the Red Army. At present the Red Army and the German fascist army are fighting on equal terms, man for man. Moreover, the German fascist army is directly supported at the front by the troops of Italy, Rumania and Finland. The Red Army so far has no such support. And what happens? The much lauded German army is suffering defeat, while the Red Army is scoring important victories.

Falling back westward under the powerful blows of the Red Army, the German troops are suffering tremendous losses in manpower and equipment. They are clinging to every fold of ground to postpone the day of their utter defeat. But the enemy's efforts are in vain.

The initiative is now in our hands, and the efforts of Hitler's loose and rusty machine cannot check the Red Army's onslaught. The day is not distant when the Red Army's powerful blows will drive the bestial enemy back from Leningrad, clear him from the towns and villages of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, from Lithuania and Latvia, from Estonia and Karelia, will free Soviet Crimea, and the red banners will again fly victoriously over the whole Soviet land.

It would, however, be unpardonably nearsighted to rest content with the success achieved and to believe that we have already finished with the German troops. This would be empty boasting and conceit unworthy of the Soviet people. It must not be forgotten that there are still many difficulties ahead.

The enemy is suffering defeat, but he has not yet been routed, and still less finished off. The enemy is still strong. He will exert the last remnants of his strength to attain success. And the more defeats he suffers, the more furious he will become.

It is therefore necessary that the training of reserves to assist the front should not relax in our country for a single minute.

It is necessary that fresh army units should go to the front one after another to forge victory over the bestial enemy.

It is necessary that our industry, especially our war industry, should work with redoubled vigor.

It is necessary that the front should receive daily increasing quantities of tanks, planes, guns, trench mortars, machine guns, rifles, automatic rifles and ammunition.

This is one of the Red Army's main sources of strength and might. But it is not the Red Army's only source of strength. The Red Army's strength lies above all in the fact that it is not waging a predatory, imperialist war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war.

The Red Army's task is to free our Soviet territory from the German invaders, to free from the yoke of the German invaders the residents of our villages and towns, who were free and lived like human beings before the war and now are oppressed and suffer pillage, ruin and famine, and lastly to free our women from the disgrace and outrages to which they are subjected by the German fascist fiends. What could be nobler and loftier than this task?

No single German soldier can say

that he is waging a just war, because he cannot fail to see that he is forced to fight in order to plunder and oppress other peoples. The German soldier lacks a lofty, noble aim in the war which could inspire him and in which he could take pride. On the contrary, the Red Army man can proudly say that he is waging a just war, a war for liberation, a war for the freedom and independence of his motherland.

The Red Army pursues a noble and lofty war aim, which inspires it to heroic feats. This, properly speaking, explains why the patriotic war brings forward thousands of heroes and heroines in our country ready to face death for the freedom of their motherland. This is a source of strength to the Red Army. This is also a source of weakness to the German fascist army.

Occasionally the foreign press engages in prattle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and destroy the German State. This is, of course, a stupid lie and a witless slander against the Red Army. The Red Army has not and cannot have such idiotic aim. The Red Army's aim is to drive out the German occupants from our country and liberate Soviet soil from the German fascist invaders.

It is very likely that the war for liberation of the Soviet land will result in ousting or destroying Hitler's clique. We should welcome such an outcome. But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State remain.

Lastly, the strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it does not and cannot entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people, that it has been brought up in the spirit of the equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples.

The Germans' racial theory and their practice of racial hatred have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become enemies of fascist Germany. The theory of race equality in the U.S.S.R. and the practice of respect for the rights of other peoples have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become friends of the Soviet Union. This is a source of strength to the Red Army. This is also a source of weakness to the German fascist army.

Sometimes the foreign press engages in prattle to the effect that the Soviet people hate the Germans just because they are Germans, that the Red Army exterminates German soldiers just because they are Germans, because it hates everything German, and that therefore the Red Army does not take German soldiers prisoner.

This is, of course, a similar stupid lie and witless slander against the Red Army. The Red Army is free of feelings of racial hatred. It is free of such degrading feelings because it has been brought up in the spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other peoples. Be-

sides, one should not forget that in our country any manifestation of racial hatred is punished by law.

Certainly the Red Army must annihilate the German fascist occupants, since they wish to enslave our motherland, and when, being surrounded by our troops, they refuse to lay down thir arms and surrender. The Red Army annihilates them not because of their German origin but because they wish to enslave our motherland. The Red Army, like the army of any other people, is entitled and bound to annihilate the enslavers of its motherland, irrespective of their national origin.

Recently the German garrisons stationed in Kalinin, Klin, Sukhinichi, Andreapol and Toropets were surrounded by our troops, who offered to let them surrender and promised to spare their lives. The German garrisons refused to lay down their arms and surrender. It is clear that they had to be driven out by force, and not a few Germans were killed. War is war.

The Red Army takes German soldiers and officers prisoner if they surrender, and spares their lives. The Red Army annihilates German soldiers and officers if they refuse to lay down their arms and when they attempt, arms in hand, to enslave our motherland. Recall the words of the great Russian writer Maxim Gorky: "If the enemy does not surrender, he is annihilated."

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, guerrillas—men and women:

I congratulate you on the 24th anniversary of the Red Army. I wish you complete victory over the German fascist invaders.

Long live the Red Army and Navy!

Long live the guerrillas, men and women!

Long live our glorious motherland, its freedom and independence!

Long live the great Party of the Bolsheviks, leading us to victory!

Long live the invincible banner of the great Lenin!

Under Lenin's banner, onward to defeat the German fascist invaders!

(Signed)

People's Commissar of Defense

STALIN

FOR THE COMPLETE DEFEAT OF HITLER GERMANY

BY E. GEREY

THE year 1941 brought with it a turn in the whole international situation. The great patriotic war waged by the Soviet people in reply to Hitler Germany's attack, unparalleled for its treachery and insidiousness, was the main and decisive factor in bringing about this turn. The nature, content and perspective of the world as a whole have undergone a radical change. Through the efforts of the aggressor states, the war has spread to the whole world and now embraces all the continents. Against the Soviet Union Nazi Germany hurled not only her own cannibal hordes but also the armies of her Rumanian, Hungarian, Finnish and Italian vassals.

Japan's aggression in the Far East has brought the United States into the war, the only great power which hitherto had taken no direct part in it. As no other war in history, this has become a world war in the full sense of the words.

The huge Soviet-German front—the decisive front of the present war—cuts across Europe. New fronts have come into being in the Far Eastern Pacific areas where there are a vast sea front and several land fronts. Gigantic material resources and colossal reserves of manpower are being brought into play in all parts of the world. All arms are in action as the battle rages over vast territories, on oceans, in the air, as well as under water. But the worldwide nature of the present war is determined not only by its dimensions nor by the scope of its operations, nor even by the fact that all of the world's resources are being mustered. This is a war to determine the destinies not of single countries but the fate and future of the whole world and of all mankind. Upon the outcome of this war will depend whether nations are to enjoy independence or be subjected to abject slavery, the likes of which humanity has not yet seen.

* * *

In 1941 Hitler Germany lost the war in the sphere of diplomacy and foreign policy. For Nazi Germany 1941 was a year of international isolation. Military successes in 1940 and in the first half of 1941, prior to their attack on the U.S.S.R., brought the Nazis certain, although very conditional, results in the diplomatic war and in foreign policy. In September, 1940, came the conclusion of the agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan. Rulers of several of the smaller European countries, urged by fear of the Ger-

man army and lured by promises of easy booty, became parties to this agreement. In doing so they converted their countries into vassals of Nazi Germany, and their peoples into cannon-fodder for the Reich's robber war. Germany concluded a treaty of friendship with Turkey on the eve of her attack on the Soviet Union. But the criminal war started by Nazi Germany against the U.S.S.R. signified an end to these transitory diplomatic successes.

The complacent simpletons at Berlin were banking on their ability to establish against the U.S.S.R. a world-wide German-led coalition that would include Great Britain and the U.S.A. The Nazis were out to isolate completely the U.S.S.R. They wanted to apply their favorite tactic of beating down their enemies piecemeal, against the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A. They were yet to see what a gross miscalculation this was.

"The U.S.S.R. proved not only that it was not isolated; on the contrary, it acquired new allies in Great Britain, the United States and other countries occupied by the Germans.

"It turned out that the German policy of playing up contradictions and intimidating by the specter of revolution has exhausted itself and no longer fits in the new situation. And not only does not fit, but is moreover pregnant with great dangers for the German invaders, for, in the new conditions of war, it leads to exactly the opposite result."*

* *Staiin Speaks to the World,* Workers Library Publishers, p. 5.

The establishment of an anti-Hitler coalition of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States was crowned by the Washington Declaration of 26 nations, signed at the beginning of 1942. The signatory nations undertake not to conclude a separate armistice nor a separate peace with those of the Axis states with whom they are at war.

In addition to this major failure in foreign policy, Nazi Germany has in the past year sustained a number of other serious setbacks. The Nazi attempt to transfer Iran into a base for carrying out new aggressive plans was frustrated. Nor did the German imperialists succeed in drawing Spain into the war, for Spain's rulers fear Hitler's defeat and its inevitable onerous repercussions. All of Hitler's efforts to "pacify" vanquished France with the aid of traitors like Pétain, Darlan and Laval, and to gain control of the French Navy and French colonies in Africa, have similarly failed, thanks to the resistance of the French people, encouraged as they are by the tenacious struggle of the valiant Red Army.

President Roosevelt has extended the operation of the lease-lend bill to Turkey, thus stressing that Turkey is classed among the countries threatened with Nazi aggression and that she has the possibility of upholding her independence against a Hitler attack.

Lastly, Germany has suffered her most bitter defeat in foreign policy in her relations with the United States of America. Enmeshed in his own insidious intrigues and finding no way out, Hitler impelled Japan

to make war on the U.S.A. and thereby precipitated America's entrance into the joint war of freedom-loving nations against the Axis powers. This culminated the series of defeats for Hitler in the sphere of foreign policy. It spelled failure of the rotten diplomacy of that champagne salesman Ribbentrop.

Unable to conquer England, Hitler plunged Germany into a war with the Soviet Union. Unable to conquer either England or the Soviet Union, Hitler brought things to a head by declaring war on the U.S.A., the world's greatest industrial power.

* * *

The year 1941 also marked the beginning of Hitler Germany's military defeats. These defeats began in the Soviet Union. Hitler planned a blitzkrieg against the U.S.S.R.; he received a protracted war instead. Hitler was out to seize Moscow and Leningrad, the Soviet Union's chief political and industrial centers. At Moscow his October and November offensive has drowned the Nazi armies in blood. Moscow, surrounded on three sides, was liberated from the onslaught of the crack fascist divisions, and Leningrad remains in Soviet hands.

Hitler had promised the German people that the war against the U.S.S.R. would be over before the hard Russian winter set in. Now he is compelled to retreat on the pretext of "adverse weather conditions," to "better positions." Hitler tried to break through to the Caucasus and seize the Baku, Grozny and other rich oilfields. But General Kleist's troops were routed by the shattering blows of the Red Army, ousted from Rostov and hurled back to the west.

The capture of Kerch and Theodosia by troops of the Caucasus front and units of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet denied the Germans a second route to the Caucasian oilfields. Hitler intended to cut up, outflank, encircle and annihilate the Red Army and destroy its equipment. But the Red Army, at least four times "annihilated" by that super-liar Goebbels, is successfully applying the Germans' own tactics of flank blows, flanking movements and encirclement of Hitler's armies.

The Red Army is successfully destroying the enemy's equipment, and his vaunted Panzer columns, which overran most of the European countries with impunity. With provocative aim that fiend Hitler has called for a war of extermination against the Soviet people. At his orders the fascist beasts are perpetrating the mass murder of peaceful inhabitants, looting the population of Soviet towns and villages and desecrating monuments of Russia's great culture.

The Red Army and intrepid Soviet partisans retaliate against Hitler's war of annihilation with a war of ruthless extermination of the Nazi army of murderers and marauders, by a ruthless extermination of all German invaders.

The Red Army, which is bearing the brunt of the attack by Germany's monstrous war machine and her vassal armies, is overcoming the powerful enemy in single-handed combat. The Red Army has worn

down the enemy in defensive actions; it has wiped out dozens of picked Nazi divisions. It has checked the advance of Hitler's troops and at several sectors of the front has launched counter-offensives, dislodging the enemy from scores of Soviet towns and vital inhabited localities, capturing enormous stores of war materials.

The Soviet people have achieved these first serious military successes of their patriotic war by consistently, self-sacrificingly and tenaciously putting into operation the great program outlined by Stalin in his address over the radio on July 3 and in his speech at the meeting of the Moscow Soviets on November 6, 1941. Events have already shown the incomparable superiority of the brilliant Stalinist strategy over the Nazi strategy. The further fulfillment of the tasks mapped out by Stalin, beloved leader of the peoples and supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, will bring the Soviet Union final victory and will spell complete defeat for Hitler fascism—an enemy seriously injured but still dangerous.

With Hitler's army and air force almost completely tied down to the Soviet-German front, Great Britain was enabled seriously to enhance her armed forces. The respite gained by England as a result of the heroic resistance of the Red Army is being used by her to build up an army of many millions on the British Isles and to create a powerful war base in Africa and the Near East. Britain has strengthened her coastal defenses. She has restored her ports and war industries, partially destroyed by German bombings, and developed the manufacture of artillery, tanks and aircraft on a grand scale.

The British army in Africa took the offensive, liquidated Italian domination in Ethiopia and captured the whole of Cyrenaica, thus rendering the Suez Canal secure against flank attacks by German and Italian forces.

In 1941 British losses in the Atlantic decreased to a fraction of what they were previously. Germany has lost the battle of the Atlantic. So it came about that, for the first time since September, 1939, Hitler's armies are nowhere advancing. More, 1942 finds them retreating everywhere—at the German-Soviet front, in Africa and in the Atlantic. For the first time in this war, the German High Command has introduced into its vocabulary such words as "retreat," even if with such cold comfort as the qualification "planned" or "previously anticipated."

For the first time the German High Command day after day is constrained to announce German "defensive operations." For the first time that braggart Hitler, feeling the ground being cut from under his feet, is forced to go into lengthy explanations to the effect that at the Russian front the Nazi army is faced with "an enemy greatly superior in numbers and equipment."

For the first time the German army has suffered defeat and this the Nazi chieftains can no longer conceal from the German people. For the first time in this war the

difficulties and serious military reverses have led to a crisis in the German High Command—a crisis that found expression in the removal of General Brauchitsch, who for four years stood at the head of the German army.

All this forms the basis for the view that, despite the very stubborn battles ahead and the great difficulties and sacrifice which this struggle will entail, there is in the military situation a definite change in favor of the anti-Hitler forces.

* * *

The liberation struggle of the nations suppressed and tormented by the Nazi imperialists entered a new phase in 1941. The titanic struggle of the Soviet people and their Red Army and the establishment of a world coalition of democratic powers have given the peoples fighting for their independence and liberty that perspective and powerful support which they lacked hitherto. The struggle of the nations oppressed by the Nazis underwent drastic changes in form and content following the outbreak of the Soviet people's great patriotic war.

In several countries passive and scattered resistance gave way to active popular struggle against the hated invader. A year ago in no occupied country save Yugoslavia was there yet any open armed struggle against the foreign invader. Today such struggle is being waged in Greece, Poland and northern Norway. In Yugoslavia, its form and scope give it the dimensions of a national liberation war.

A year ago in none of the occupied countries were there as yet any or hardly any acts of sabotage aimed at undermining the Nazi war machine. Today such acts are becoming more and more frequent in all of the occupied countries. They are occurring even in countries allied to Germany, whose peoples have against their own will been dragged into this Hitler-made war by Nazi agents like Antonescu, Horthy, Mannerheim and Tuka. One year ago there was no real national front of struggle for liberty and independence in the occupied lands. At present this front is being formed and in most of the occupied countries it is gaining in strength and experience every passing day. This continuously strengthening national front of the peoples enslaved by Hitler is fraught with tremendous potential power, which only now is beginning to come to the surface.

Fascist Germany can still to a large degree avail herself of the industrial transport and supply resources of the occupied countries in order to replenish and feed her diabolical war machine. But the machine is being weakened and will continue to be weakened by the progress of the Red Army.

The unbearable yoke of fascism, its wanton terror and the endless calamities which it imposes upon nations, will serve still more to weld together the peoples, to heighten their consciousness and activities until they reach the level when mass strikes and mass sabotage will put an end to any further supplies of armaments, and raw

materials and food to Hitler's war machine. This sacred national liberation war, a war of revenge by the people, is now developing in many European countries. This judgment of the peoples hovers like an inexorable menace over the Nazi imperialists. It will wipe Hitler's so-called new order from the face of the earth.

A profound change has taken place among the German people too.

"More than two years of bloody war, the end of which is not in sight; millions of human victims, hunger, pauperization, epidemics, the hostile atmosphere surrounding the Germans, Hitler's stupid policy which transformed the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into avowed enemies of present-day Germany—all this could not but turn the German people against the needless and ruinous war."*

With the failure of the last German offensive at the Soviet-German front, and now that the U.S.A. has entered the war, the German people are slowly but surely beginning to realize the stalemate into which Hitler has led them. The masses in Germany are beginning to accuse Hitler directly of being responsible for this war. The desire for peace is taking an ever stronger grip on the German people, and ever more persistent is becoming their demands for termination of this war which has brought countless losses at the fronts and cruel suffering in the rear. The Hitlerites are retaliating with a new war launched by Himmler on the home front, a war against the German people.

* *Ibid.*, p. 13.

In his speech of December 11, 1941, Hitler threatened the German people, who are longing for peace, with scaffolds and the executioner's axe. But this is indeed a dangerous game, for the Nazis are playing with fire. In this situation, when the masses are beginning to turn against the Nazi party, the introduction of such sharp measures is only adding fuel to the flames.

* * *

The national liberation war of the Chinese people, now in its fifth year, entered a new phase in 1941. China is no longer isolated. Together with the U.S.A., Britain and the Netherlands East Indies she forms part of a powerful military coalition. The Chinese National Government affixed its signature to the Washington Declaration of the twenty-six states. The policy of "non-intervention" pursued by Britain and the U.S.A. with regard to China has become a thing of the past. Great Britain and the U.S.A. are vitally interested in China's victory over Japanese imperialism, for that victory will be their victory too.

China now has the prospect of strengthening her armed forces with allied aid. Those elements in China who wavered, fearing the difficulties of the struggle, have now acquired a real perspective. The representatives of those sections of the Chinese people who advocated a stubborn struggle against the invader have proved that they were right and now have greater possibilities than before for a more active liberation war.

The danger of capitulation has to a great extent been relegated to the background. The basis of Wang Ching-wei's puppet government is narrowing down. The authority of the Chinese People's Government headed by Chiang Kai-shek has increased. Favorable conditions have been created at home for a final consolidation of the national front in China, without which the victory of the Chinese people is unthinkable.

* * *

Stalin's prediction that in the struggle against Hitler Germany and her allies all the freedom-loving peoples will unite has come true in 1941.

"Our war for the freedom of our country," said Stalin in his speech over the radio on July 3, 1941, "will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies."*

The united front of the peoples is becoming an ever more effective force. Both the peoples of the occupied countries as well as those whose independence is imperiled are grouping around the coalition of the major democratic powers. The Soviet Union, the first to shatter the myth of Nazi "invincibility" and lay the foundations for Hitler Germany's military defeat, now stands before the nations as a leading force in this great united front. Reality has obliterated that none too clever and vile slander which the enemies of the U.S.S.R. have for over twenty years directed against it. The peoples are becoming convinced that the Soviet system is the strongest social system in the world. They are becoming convinced that the Soviet people are prepared to make any sacrifice to save their country. They realize that only people fired with lofty ideals and holding undivided sway in their own country are capable of such supreme efforts and unexampled feats of bravery as those performed by the Soviet people in the battle for their honor, liberty and independence. The peoples see that the great Stalin, who stands at the head of the Soviet State and directs the just war of the Soviet people, will lead them out of all difficulties and bring them to victory.

* * *

Fascist Germany was dealt a serious blow in 1941. But the German war machine is far from being broken. Tense battles lie ahead. They will require tremendous and concerted effort on the part of all participants in the anti-Hitler coalition and all freedom-loving peoples. No one doubts that the chief enemy of mankind is Hitler Germany, which has enslaved the majority of the European peoples and built up a formidable war machine. Hence Europe remains the chief theater of war. The main front is the Soviet-German front, where Hitler

* Joseph Stalin, *Victory Will Be Ours!* Workers Library Publishers, p. 14.

Germany has concentrated—and could not but concentrate—nearly all her military might, at least until a second front is set up on the European continent.

From this follows the necessity of directing all the main resources of the coalition and the main efforts of the peoples at breaking the backbone of Hitler's war machine in order to achieve the complete defeat of Nazi Germany. The desperate position into which the Hitlerites are drifting more and more will undoubtedly compel them to make fresh attempts to muster their forces and embark on any, even the most risky, adventures. They will try at any price and by any means to break through to the sources of oil without which the Nazi imperialists cannot wage a protracted war. They will squeeze out of the enslaved peoples every bit of vitality so long as these people do not rise in revolt.

In order to have more soldiers at his disposal Hitler will employ foreign slaves in German industry and agriculture on a far larger scale, even at the risk of lowering labor productivity.

The Nazis will try to make the armies of other nations—the Bulgarians and Spaniards—fight for them. Having almost completely disposed of the Finnish and Rumanian armies, Hitler, through his servitor Horthy, intends to throw the whole Hungarian army into the fire of battle. The Hitlerites will embark on the most swindling and hopeless maneuvers in order to deceive the democratic countries and break the strangling ring of the international coalition opposing Germany.

The Nazis still console themselves and their alarmed allies with the belief that Japanese successes in the Pacific can turn the scales in favor of Germany. Vain illusions! Mussolini, too, tried to find consolation in Hitler's temporary successes in Europe, but these successes could not avert the collapse of Italy's African empire. Precisely because the present war is a world war its outcome cannot be determined by individual, although considerable, temporary successes, achieved, moreover, not on the main front.

The outcome of the war will be determined by the volume of material and the economic resources and manpower, by the quality and quantity of the arms possessed by the belligerent camps. It will depend on the durability of the political regimes in the warring countries, on the resistant strength of their rear, which in turn determines the morale of the armies at the front. The material and economic resources of the United Nations opposed to the Axis powers are many times greater than the resources possessed by Germany and her allies. The United Nations produce three times more steel, twenty times more oil and sixty times more automobiles than the Axis powers. The tremendous war potential of the United Nations will be developed to full measure only in the present year, whereas that of Germany and her allies has already reached its peak and their resources are becoming more and more depleted.

President Roosevelt has announced that this year the U.S.A. will turn out 60,000 aircraft, 45,000 tanks, 22,000 anti-aircraft guns, and will build ships aggregating 8,000,000 tons.

The Soviet Union's war industries, for the greater part in the heart of the country, are picking up speed.

In various parts of the British Empire—in Canada, Australia and India—the production of war materials is rapidly growing.

The quality of Soviet tanks and aircraft is already superior to the German product. New war plants are beginning to produce the most up-to-date types of weapons on the basis of the two years of war experience.

The manpower resources of the Axis are four to five times less than those of its opponents. And while the manpower reserves of Germany are already running low, those of the U.S.A. have not yet been tapped, while the British Army, which hitherto has not fought on any extensive scale, has sustained but insignificant losses. China has mobilized a mere 10 per cent of her able-bodied male population.

The Red Army, which has made the greatest sacrifice in the interests of the common cause of the nations, has large fresh forces prepared to take the field against the enemy.

But war machines and manpower reserves alone will not decide the outcome of the war. Nor will it be decided by armies alone, though they are well equipped with modern weapons of war, well organized and well trained. In the final analysis the deciding factor is the people that know what they are fighting for and are therefore prepared to make any sacrifice and to endure any privation for the sake of victory of their just cause. The outcome will be decided by men bravely and courageously fighting for their homeland and guided by great ideals. The outcome will be decided by peoples supremely devoted to their armies.

The Red Army's fighters are defending their native soil, their factories and mills, their socialist system and the freedom of all peoples. The men, the commanders and political workers of the Red Army are inspired by the great idea of Soviet patriotism, and the Red Army enjoys the wholehearted support of the Soviet nation.

But what are the soldiers of the Nazi robber army fighting for? What makes them fight and die, save lust for personal enrichment, save the sadist instinct of a murderer and the Prussian discipline enforced by a whip? The German army is waging a war of loot on foreign territory. The German soldier has no ideals to inspire him, nor can he have any such ideals. Therefore the German army, in contrast to the Red Army, cannot bear any serious setbacks for any length of time or overcome enormous difficulties. Fear of defeat is setting in among the German soldiery and behind the German lines among the people, who are extremely war weary after two and a half years of fighting. Hitler's army has already exhausted the ad-

vantages gained by its initial successes.

The Red Army is now tempered in battle and has accumulated vast experience. Reverses have only served to steel it. Its successes have enhanced its fighting spirit. It has already produced a multitude of heroes of a great patriotic war, and a host of gifted leaders and staunch commanders.

The strength of the Soviet rear is growing apace and is providing the Red Army with increasing quantities of weapons, equipment and supplies. The whole of the Soviet land is now a single military camp, forging the essentials which will enable it in 1942 to attain victory over the German fascists.

The year 1942 opens up a real prospect—it can and must become the decisive year of the liberation war against Hitlerism, the year of defeat for fascist Germany and of triumph for the just cause of the world's freedom-loving nations. And this perspective will all the sooner and more surely become a reality the more active and self-sacrificing are the peoples of all lands in their support for the Soviet people and its Red Army in the battle for their freedom.

The hour of liberation of the peoples oppressed by Hitler will strike all the sooner the better these peoples are able to utilize the weakening of the German war machine, the stronger are their blows against fascist Germany's rear and the greater the united front of struggle they erect. This front must cut through every city, every village, every factory and every mill.

The German people themselves will the sooner attain deliverance from Hitler tyranny and re-establish the trust of other nations, the more determinedly they fight the Nazi brutes, the more energetically they develop mass sabotage and strikes against the Hitler regime, the quicker they come out in open revolt behind the lines and at the front against the continuation of Hitler's criminal war, the quicker they rise in a nationwide insurrection against the tyrannical domination of fascism.

The Soviet people and their heroic Red Army will perform their duty. They will continue to deal blows at the enemy and to defeat the frantic hordes of Nazism. There is no reason to doubt that the peoples of all countries, stinting neither effort nor daunted by any difficulties, will also play their part and then 1942 will undoubtedly become the year in which they secure their liberty and independence.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S PATRIOTIC WAR AGAINST THE GERMAN INVADERS

BY M. KALININ

AT 5:30 A.M., on June 22, 1941, the German Ambassador Schulenberg told Molotov that the German government had declared war on the Soviet Union. Properly speaking, this statement was superfluous, for over two hours before that our troops were engaged with German forces that had crossed the Soviet frontier, and German aircraft were already bombing our peaceful cities far behind the frontiers.

At noon on June 22 Molotov, on behalf of the Soviet Government, announced over the radio fascist Germany's perfidious attack on our country and called upon the Red Army and the whole Soviet people to wage a victorious patriotic war for country, for honor and for freedom. Thus began the great patriotic war of the Soviet people against the fascist aggressors.

Our country has only seldom fought the Germans in past history. Three wars are best known of all to the people. These were the war of 1242 against the German Knights, who invaded the Russian lands and were routed by Alexander Nevsky at Lake Uhud near Pskov. The second was in 1759 under Tsarina Elizabeth, when Russian troops routed Frederick the Second's Army at Künersdorf and entered Berlin in 1760. Incidentally, the keys to Berlin are still displayed in one of our museums. Lastly, the war of 1914–18, the results of which are well known. Though but a brief historical period, twenty-three or twenty-four years, separates us from the first World War, our present war with Germany differs not only in the forms and methods of its conduct, but also in inner political content, and holds incomparably greater perils for our people. The last war was fought for predatory aims. But it was fought between the Hohenzollern and Romanov dynasties, which were kindred in spirit.

The "relatives" Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser Wilhelm fought each other in the last war. In letters they even addressed each other as "Dear Brother." Certainly each of these "brothers," in conjunction with the nobility and bourgeoisie, was out to rob the other brother of as much booty as possible.

But, nevertheless, even if only in forms of warfare, for decency's sake, the established rules of international law were abided by—imprisoned officers were given

privileged status, as compared with imprisoned soldiers who, though accorded no privileges, were not subjected to humiliating maltreatment, at least not openly and officially, and shootings and torture were rare occurrences. Looting and violence against the civilian population, though practiced by the Germans, was more of a symbolic nature and to some degree was discouraged by the superiors.

At present German fascism, specifically Hitler, is waging a total war against us. With the conceit and self-confidence so typical of him, Hitler declared that the initiative in this war will belong to him and that the blows of his armies will shatter the enemy, that he will pass over the occupied territory with iron and sword, destroying and laying waste to everything, terrorizing and mutilating the population. All human beings in the occupied areas are to be abused like rabbits before a beast of prey—this is the essence of Hitler's total war. Nor is this sheer invention, for here are Hitler's own words: "Mass aerial attacks, sudden blows, terrorism, devastating attacks at vulnerable spots of the enemy's defenses inflicted like hammer blows simultaneously and without regard for reserves and losses—such is the war of the future. A gigantic hammer that will crush everything. I see only this and give no thought to consequences. I am not playing at soldiers, and no strategist will make me do so. I will direct the course of the war and I will choose the favorable moment for attack. I shall await this moment, most favorable of all, with iron determination and I will not let it pass by. I will devote all my energy to hastening on this moment. This will be the task. And when I succeed I will have the right to send youth to death."

Now from actual practice of this war we can become convinced of the profound justness of Stalin's definition of the German Nazis given in his radio speech of July 3, 1941. In that speech Stalin described the leaders of fascist Germany as cannibals. And indeed they are cannibals. Mechanized cannibals who in their bestialities have surpassed all brutalities ever known in history.

It is often said that to defeat an enemy one must know him. What does the present-day German government represent and on what social forces does it rely for support? Germany today is ruled by fascists who call themselves "National Socialists" (the name "Socialist" was tacked on to catch the credulous worker). Fascism as a political party is a comparatively new phenomenon of post-war origin. It first appeared in the political arena in Italy in 1921. At that time the wave of workers' strikes in Italy developed into the revolutionary seizure of the factories and mills by the workers. The Italian government was in no position to cope with this movement and the capitalists were scared by the prospect of a revolt. But the Italian workers had no revolutionary leadership similar to the Bolshevik Party, their movement was not consolidated in centralized political action

and this inevitably spelled its defeat. Meanwhile Mussolini, erstwhile Socialist, supported by the bourgeoisie, which was haunted by the specter of revolution, organized Blackshirt bands and with these armed gangs, that could be dispersed by a single regiment of the regular troops he captured power in Rome in 1922. Mussolini regards himself as the creator of fascism.

Fascism in Germany came into being also as a result of the difficult position of the German bourgeoisie after its defeat in the imperialist war. The actual founders of the fascist party were such representatives of big German capital as Hugo Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp and others. It is hardly likely that the German capitalists had first contemplated the formation of a special fascist party. Their aspirations and program were most vividly expressed and ably defended by such men as the nationalist Hugenberg. All the German bourgeoisie required were armed bands acting on its orders. Hitler, who at first kept watch over the unreliable elements in the National-Socialist circles, in 1920 became the organizer and leader of these armed squads. Regarding himself free of any principles, doctrines or morals and in no way bound by traditions, Hitler indulged in unrestrained self-advertisement, posing as the savior of the German people from all evils and particularly from the worst of these evils—the Versailles Treaty.

He unleashed furious agitation, demagogically promising the workers work and good earnings, to peasants he promised land and larger income, to handicraftsmen, orders; to merchants, profits; and to the capitalists he whispered "Do not worry. We will not touch your wealth—if anything, we will increase it."

With the financial backing of great industrial concerns, and the landed aristocracy, Hitler was able in several years to muster an army of cutthroats, recruiting them from among merchants, handicraftsmen, officers and the unemployed after the war, and partly from among the soldiers. In short, they were recruited from among those who nursed some grudge, but had strong fists and an overwhelming desire to live well without working. They all thronged to Hitler, who supported them and who selected from their number out-and-out thugs ready to commit any crime and of these he formed the so-called troop detachments.

When the Nazis came to power their storm troop army numbered some 200,000, or practically double the regular German Reichswehr. In actual fact a new power was created in Germany which, though having no formal rights, enjoyed the favor of men in power, high-placed officials and a considerable section of the officer corps, and had the full protection of the police. This they used brutally to suppress their political opponents and in particular the progressive working class elements. Raids on labor organizations were an everyday occurrence, so were assassinations of individuals who stood in their way. Hitler's party was an imperialist

party of violence and it grew, attracting all who sought easy enrichment.

Using funds donated by finance circles the fascists developed frenzied agitation for German revenge and for the establishment of a Greater Germany. Properly speaking, the entire fascist program reduced itself to these planks. All other programmatic demands, such as the destruction of credit slavery, limiting the profits of big capital, abolition of large department stores, large land property, etc., were simply inserted to attract more supporters. These "radical" clauses, which were there only for embellishment, were open to special interpretation and remained only on paper.

In their agitation the fascists did not hesitate to promise everything to everyone, and on this basis the party grew numerically and attained considerable influence among the petty-bourgeois elements, as was reflected in the Reichstag elections in 1932.

The fascists came to power in 1933 with the help of the reactionary elements and began "fulfilling" their promises of showering benefits on all. They began with the workers. They disbanded trade union organizations, confiscated their funds and property and destroyed the working class press. Thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and nonpartisan workers were killed, and those who did not manage to escape were thrust into concentration camps.

The same fate befell the progressive section of the German intelligentsia—some were killed, others tortured in concentration camps, and thousands fled the country. The works of all more or less prominent German writers and writers of other countries were burned. Books by Maxim Gorky and Leo Tolstoy were, of course, among them.

Mass Jewish pogroms, murder and violence against the Jewish population were raised to a state doctrine. The most valuable property pillaged from the Jews was distributed among Hitler's entourage, lesser booty went to the storm troopers.

The fascists demagogically claimed that they defended the labor of handicraftsmen and the small merchants against capital. But is this true? The *Yearbook of German Handicrafts* for 1937 contains astounding figures on the impoverishment of the handicrafts trades. In 1936 no less than 132,109 handicraft establishments were closed in Germany. Moreover, the number of such establishments closed increased with every quarter. Thus in the first quarter of 1936, 29,351 establishments were closed, whereas in the last quarter the number advanced to 36,237. The first quarter of 1937 brought the figure to 40,968, with a total for 1936 and the first quarter of 1937 amounting to 173,077 handicraft establishments.

The official organ, *Sozial Pro-Axis,* No. 9, for 1938, contains the following advice: "Handicraftsmen not fully employed must be transferred to industry as skilled work-

ers and 600,000 one-man handicraft shops must be liquidated."

Yet the figures quoted above are only the beginning; the real crash came in 1939 when the Nazis proceeded with the compulsory mass liquidation of handicrafts and small trade establishments and sent their owners to work at large war plants. In this way the fascists rewarded their petty-bourgeois followers. First they utilized them to fight the workers and intellectuals and then, after ruining them, put them into war industries to prepare a war which would add new riches for the big fascist capitalists.

The German peasantry, which the Nazis made special efforts to entice and which even today they consider the most valuable estate of the German nation, describing it as the "nation's lifeblood," received from Hitler only burdensome taxes and compulsory deliveries to the state of all produce surpluses at cut prices. The rations allowed to the peasants are strictly limited. Any attempts to conceal foodstuffs or consume more food lead to numerous court proceedings, which as a rule end with harsh sentences. The ranks of the landless peasants have swelled since the Nazis' advent to power, and at the same time land owned by the German landlords and Prussian Junkers has increased.

Suffice it to say that over 2,000,000 peasant households, comprising 53 per cent of all the German peasant households, own from one-half to five hectares* of land. In contrast to this, 3,500 landlords have an average of 2,781 hectares each. The tremendous land holdings of the former imperial family remain untouched. The Prince of Hessen, a friend of Goering, has 7,000 hectares, Duke Anhalt has 29,300. Goering himself is a big landlord, having received from Hitler a gift of 2,000 hectares in Bavaria. This is how German fascism looks after the peasants, in very much the same way as old tsarist Russia.

In addition, the fascist government issued in 1933 a law on inheritance of peasant farms which provides that all farms of over ten hectares can be inherited only by the oldest son. Needless to say, this law is reactionary and tends to disintegrate the family by converting junior members into farmhands and very often depriving them of homes. Apparently on this question too Hitler follows his motto of divide and rule. The fascist policy has borne fruit and from 1933 through 1939 10 per cent of the German peasants lost their land. Thus every tenth peasant has been reduced to a homeless position.

One German war prisoner, Steinkiler, a private of the 151st Regiment, said "I farmed land which I rented from the peasant Heslermann, who had ten cows and three horses. For seven morgens of land rented from him I was under the obligation to work off 80 per cent of the payment at a time chosen by Heslermann. In addition to this work I must pay 200 marks a year. I could not buy land, for I had no money."

Here is another aspect of peasant

* One hectare equals 2.71 acres.

life. An ambulanceman of the 503d Regiment, taken prisoner, said of peasant life in Germany: "Peasents have no right to make butter. They must buy all their produce from dairies and cannot as before sell their produce."

The general deterioration of peasant farming in Germany is admitted even by the fascist press. The *National Sozialistische Zeitung* of February 14, 1941, wrote "The number of horses declined to 72 per cent compared with 1934."

The question naturally arises, who in Germany supports Hitler? This question is clearly answered by a private of the 151st German Infantry Regiment, Ernst Kestner, "He is supported by big capitalists and kulaks, but the poor peasants are against him."

The impoverishment of peasant farming in Germany is proceeding at a rapid pace. War mobilization has multiplied hardships and the war with the U.S.S.R. will finally ruin the German peasantry.

The brutal treatment of the workers, the humiliation and maltreatment of the intelligentsia, the public burning of books, the Jewish pogroms, inspired among the storm troopers, all these are not merely looseness but the deliberate tactics of fascism. The fascists are out to turn their followers into automatons, to dupe them so they will not think for themselves. Their only duty is to obey orders, and the less the storm trooper understands the more mechanically will he obey orders and the better will be his standing as a member of the fascist party.

The storm troopers were not averse to looting the German bourgeoisie, too, that is why they were dissolved. The more brazen and obedient section were incorporated into S.S. detachments which perform police and espionage duties. The more radical part of the storm troopers were thrown out of the party, killed or locked up in concentration camps. At first in the fascist party and subsequently in the army, Hitler cultivated brutality and indifference to sufferings of others. Banditry, theft and looting were encouraged on condition that the men mechanically obeyed their superiors in the party and their commanders in the army. It was through the army and the fascist party and S.S. detachments that fascism, by its unrestrained lying, agitation and arbitrary actions, corrupted a considerable part of the German people. The following few letters illustrate this point:

Lance Corporal Willie Mayes received a letter from Mary Mayes from Kovelar dated June 28, 1941, which reads in part: "You must take everything you possibly can from the Russians, even if the officers forbid it, so long as you do not go hungry. Follow the example of Kalappen. He never bothers about officers' permission. This last period you have been deprived of everything good so take advantage of everything you can get, for Russia after all is a big country."

Another German soldier received a letter from his wife dated July 6, 1941. It runs: "You write that you sent something for me, and want me to reply how many pieces I received.

I hope to receive the parcel soon. If you happen to come across a fur coat, please remember me. There should be plenty of that kind of thing where you are now. My size is 46 but get a bigger one if you can. I can always make it smaller. If you get hold of some soap or wool, that would be good, too. . . ."

These letters, and their number is legion, are sufficiently eloquent proof that fascism tries hard to deprave and lower the German people morally.

Fascism has pursued and is pursuing the most reactionary anti-popular policy for the sake of the interests of the most predatory and aggressive imperialist circles of the bourgeoisie and the Prussian land barons. It is advocating misanthropic race theories and cultivates deceit, violence, plunder and murder. This has won universal hatred and contempt among progressive mankind.

Upon coming to power in 1933 the fascists set up a brutal dictatorship in the country. Democratic liberties were promptly liquidated and even the slightest manifestation of free thought was ruthlessly suppressed. To please the German capitalists the Nazi Government carried out a policy of ruthlessly robbing the wide masses of the working people and the petty bourgeoisie.

The Nazis incited frantic chauvinism, speculating on the revengeful moods of certain sections of the German population. Fascism's whole philosophy, so-called, reduces itself to the thesis that only one great power can exist in Europe, and that great power is destined to establish its world domination. Germany, they maintain, as the sole purely Aryan country, must become that power. All other nations are mongrels and cannot lay claim to an independent role in Europe. Designs for world domination form the guiding principle of all the activities of the fascist clique. True, at first this was concealed, and discussed only among the leadership of the fascist party. The Hitlerites cleverly used the avarice of financial groups of various countries of Western Europe, assuring them that they were preparing to attack the Bolsheviks and were increasing their army for that purpose. Some governments of large European states sympathized and even encouraged such a "noble" cause. Availing itself of this favorable situation, German fascism embarked on a mad armaments program, introduced universal military service, which Germany had been denied by the Versailles Treaty.

The fascists first seized territories ceded by Germany in accordance with the Versailles Treaty and, meeting no serious resistance, annexed Austria in March, 1938, and subsequently Czechoslovakia in May, 1939. All this they portrayed to the world as part of the preparations for an attack on the U.S.S.R. This was followed by a series of even more aggressive attacks by the German Government. On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland. Britain and France replied on September 3, by declaring war on Germany. Poland was defeated in eighteen days and her territory seized by the Germans. The Nazi troops began to occupy Ukrainian

and Byelorussian areas, but our government dispatched the Red Army to occupy the Western Regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, and thus stem any further German advance.

Now everyone realizes the usefulness for our country of the agreement concluded with Germany in August, 1939. It was useful if only because the war was postponed for nearly two years.

Having crushed Poland, and true to its rule of dealing with its enemies piecemeal, German fascism concentrated its main blow against France. Making use of the seven-month lag following the French-British declaration of war, the German Nazis quietly prepared to deliver this blow. In thirty-seven days the French army was routed and the French Government sued for an armistice, which was concluded on June 22, 1940. The terms of this armistice were extraordinarily onerous. Suffice it to say that half of France, including her capital, Paris, is occupied by the German army, whose maintenance is paid for by the French people. Such a rapid defeat of France is explained by several factors. The chief of these was the French rulers' fear of their own people, and their consequent refusal to resist. This was expressed in the defeatist sentiments in ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie and military leadership and treacherous actions by the fifth column. Naturally, one of the basic reasons for France's defeat was the weakness of the French army when confronted by the German Nazi army, although military experts had regarded the French army as the best in Europe. Hitler and his accomplices were dizzy with success. Following their victory over France the Nazis intended to settle their account with England in two or three months. Victory over England, they thought, would place Europe, and subsequently the whole world, at Hitler's mercy.

This indeed was Hitler's goal and he would accept nothing short of world domination, including the Americas, where his agents had long been engaged in subversive activities. But the war against England was no short job. It spelled reverses from the very start. The German air forces, though far superior in numbers to Britain's, in undertaking aggressive operations were unable without a strong navy to ensure the landing of German troops on the British Isles. Without a navy invasion was hopeless, while air bombing did not provide the effect on which Hitler counted. So the war dragged out and reached a stalemate.

Simultaneously Hitler was secretly preparing for a provocative attack on the Soviet Union. Military experts told him that victory over the U.S.S.R. would enable him to win the world war which the Nazis had started. Moreover, it was forecast that victory over the Soviet Union would require no more than four to six weeks and would entail only slight losses for the German army.

The German hordes accordingly invaded our country. The Hitler government perfidiously violated the treaty of non-aggression and,

like a highway robber, attacked the U.S.S.R., trying with fire and sword to pass over our territories and enslave our free people.

Every person justly thinks that the fascists, having perpetrated this incredible bloodbath, are out to enslave other peoples and set up their world domination. It is important, however, to render this formula more concrete and show how it works in reality and particularly when applied to our country.

The Nazi leadership has assimilated and consolidated the most extremist plans of conquest with regard to the U.S.S.R. They assimilated all possible plans and dreams ever entertained by the German imperialists with regard to Russia. In the war against the U.S.S.R. the German Government is out to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union by annexing to Germany the territories of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and other parts of the Soviet Union. The Hitler government not only wants to capture certain booty in the U.S.S.R. or to annex certain territories, but aims at depriving the Soviet people of state independence, in other words, such aims as even Napoleon did not set himself. The fascist leaders are too confident and undoubtedly life will punish them for it and already is punishing them.

The war has not yet reached a culminating point, but such responsible Nazis as Hitler's ruler in Holland, Seyss-Inquart, are already defining the destinies of Europe's peoples. In a speech at Cologne on November 13, 1941, Seyss-Inquart blurted out the plans of the German imperialists. "There can be no absolute independence for anyone in the future Europe," declared the Reich's commissioner in Holland, who pointed out that the Dutch, like the Norwegians, were governed by a Reich's commissioner, that is, by a representative of Hitler and not by military command, which is explained by these people allegedly belonging to the German race.

"The new Reich's commissioners in the Baltic states and Russia must be regarded from a different point of view, namely, as an expression of Germany's desire to annex these territories just as Poland was annexed," continued Seyss-Inquart. Holland and Norway, as countries populated by the supposedly German race, will be granted "cultural autonomy." This apparently denotes that the Quislings will, within bounds defined by Hitler's representatives, be at liberty to suppress every living force in the Dutch and Norwegian people and to crush their national culture. This fact alone shows what conditions and what future the German fascists are preparing for the National Republics of the U.S.S.R. For, in the eyes of the German fascists, the peoples of the Soviet Union represent lower, non-Aryan nationalities who are destined to remain slaves or mere subordinated peoples. All this is written in "serious" fascist magazines and debated in "scientific" circles of Germany.

Regarded soberly, is this anything short of insanity? Just think of these mad plans to deprive our national republics of their statehood,

to hurl them back many years from that economic and cultural level which they attained under Soviet power. Have not these Hitlerites gone too far in their plans?

The workers of our country have performed many heroic deeds during these last twenty years. Indeed, the whole country has changed as a result of the constructive effort of the Soviet people. This gigantic effort has greatly enhanced the cultural level of the workers. Slowly but steadily the material welfare of the workers is growing year by year. The working class has produced thousands and indeed tens of thousands of engineers, technicians, Red Army Commanders and experts in all spheres of endeavor. All that has been built—and truly no little has been built—is the property of the people, public property. Factories, mills, electric power plants, canals, modern roads, public places, theaters, schools, hospitals, dwelling houses—everything is the work of the Soviet people and their own property.

The German finance magnates, the fascist manufacturers, in their greed for more profits, want to deprive the Soviet peoples of their wealth and convert our workers into slaves toiling in a fascist hell.

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of November 16 published an article which with cynical frankness discussed how best the German imperialists could dispose of the Soviet factories built by the working people of our country. The article declares that "the Soviet state-owned industries will first be taken over as the property of the German state," and subsequently will be transferred to private hands, mainly in payment of debts of the Reich. "One has only to think," writes the paper, "of the connection between this question of transferring the property in the East to private hands and that of reducing the debts of the Reich. This will enable us to mobilize billions. This can be done by the state in the sale of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs."

Such is the wolfish appetite of the German imperialists and their program of pillaging the peoples of the Soviet Union. There was a time when pirates raided coastal areas, took off people and sold them into bondage. Today the German bandits are doing much the same in Europe. Thousands of workers are being rounded up and taken to Germany where they are kept in concentration camps and compelled to work long days in factories, mainly in those which are frequently bombed by the British aircraft. They wish to subject our workers to the same fate, but this shall never be. With their bloody hands the fascists have cut short the peaceful constructive labor of the Soviet workers, and the entire energy of our country is now directed at producing armaments and ammunition for the Red Army. Let us satisfy the Nazi greed and produce more weapons and more shells for our heroic Red Army, which will use them with deadly effect against the fascist marauders.

What are the Germans preparing for the Soviet peasantry? The peasants in the Ukraine and Byelorussia are already subjected to terrible sufferings and their torment in-

creases with every day until we oust the fascist skunks from the Soviet land.

It is no accident that Hitler encourages his army by talk about Russian land in German hands feeding the whole of fascist Europe. This is no new idea and Hitler is only repeating the thesis for many years elaborated in German literature by reactionary authors. The thoughts of seizing Russian land were always entertained by the Prussian landlords. They have not enough which they have taken from the German peasants, and they want to expand to the Russian plains and become owners of thousands of hectares of fertile soil. The German kulaks are longing for our collective farms, for our rich tractor stations, for our agricultural implements and livestock. They would deprive the collective farmers of their land and compel them to work as abject slaves.

To what extent the fascists were able to incite these plans of conquest and how deeply they are rooted among the German soldiers, particularly among the S.S. units, may be seen from the following letter found on the body of S.S. soldier Paul Meyer addressed to his wife in Breslau: "Dear Greta, In the next parcel I'll send you a bottle of famous Don champagne so you can drink to my health. Then when this hellish Russian campaign is over we will build a wonderful village on the banks of the Don and live here under the southern sun. Just wait a little until we introduce the new order here."

And this scoundrel wants to introduce the "new order" so that on the blood and the bones of our peasants he and his Greta can build a house and drink Don champagne!

There were many such letters by German thugs, particularly at the beginning of the war. Today they are more rare and there can be no doubt that soon they will disappear altogether and the German soldiers will give up all thought of collective farm land. But the Germans can be cured of their "Eastern" ailment only through complete annihilation of the Nazi invaders.

A splendid intelligentsia has grown up in the Soviet Union. Their contribution to the progress of the Soviet people grows with every passing year. They stem from the people and share the interests and problems of the people. We must fully realize what a great danger fascism represents for our intellectuals. They are already being annihilated on German-held territory. Only the complete extermination of the invaders can save our intelligentsia. Equally great is the peril to the children, the object of special attention by virtually the entire population. With what effort and care of the people and the Soviet Government have we succeeded in educating a healthy, joyful generation in the spirit of boldness and courage! In our country the children feel at home everywhere.

* * *

Germany is engaged in a war for world domination. German ringleaders urged on by unfounded and unsupported pride are aiming at gaining victory first over the

U.S.S.R. and then directing their main forces against Britain and America. This may be seen from the fact that the Germans declared war on the U.S.A.

Not so long ago, in November, 1941, at a conference of German satellites which was called to enact the farce of prolongation of the Anti-Comintern Pact, Ribbentrop spoke of the "new order" in Europe. In his verbose argumentation on Germany's future world domination, and taking it for granted that the Soviet Union was already defeated, Ribbentrop declared that the Axis powers must now "become independent of overseas countries. Europe has once and for all freed itself of the blockade danger. The grain and raw materials produced in European Russia can fully satisfy Europe's requirements. Its war industries will serve the war economy of Germany and her allies. Those two final and decisive requisites for the ultimate victory over England by the Axis and her allies now exist." Anticipating the fruit of his robber plans, Ribbentrop continues, "In the continuation of the war there will be England and her North American helper on the one hand, and the mighty European bloc on the other. Germany and Italy are able to concentrate the crushing might of their armies, fleet and aviation to rout the chief enemy—England."

The Hitlerites are much too early in announcing their plans. Time will show they will be sorry for this. Thus the Germans want to annex the Baltic states, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Hitler's thugs are to receive estates in the Don and Kuban areas. The remainder of the U.S.S.R. the fascists intend to place under a government of the Pétain type, which would abandon the country to be looted and ruined by the Germans.

Using our raw material and receiving cheap grain from the slave labor of the peasants, forcing our workers to manufacture arms in factories taken from the people, Hitler would continue his war to subordinate all nations to the rule of German imperialism and its true flunkies, the fascists. As in Vichy France the Germans sent Frenchmen to fight for Germany's interests, so would the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians be sent to the front to die for interests alien to them if German fascism would triumph.

This is the basis on which Hitler hopes to conquer the world and this is what German fascism brings the Soviet people. Let us remember well what the Germans want to do with our country, with the population, and let us make the bandits pay for their misdeeds. Meanwhile, let us continue to inflict heavy blows upon the German invaders, who have attacked our country.

What was the army that Hitler hurled at the Soviet Union? It was an army of tremendous size. When the war broke out it possessed a large amount of mechanized units with good equipment and huge stocks of ammunition. The officers and the entire army apparatus were well trained by large-scale troop movements in the war in Western Europe and in the Balkans.

Thoroughly imbued by the fascist

spirit after years of incessant propaganda, the best trained and most brazen sections of the army, accustomed to easy victory, were taught to indulge in looting, violence and arbitrary actions. For them war was but one round of loot, the "organization" of booty shipments to Germany.

Hitler Germany was preparing for a blitzkrieg. Both the design of its equipment and the training of its men were deliberately planned for a formidable initial blow which, even if it would not lead to the final defeat of the U.S.S.R., would so disorganize and stun the country as to make resistance wellnigh impossible. The Nazi soldiery was worked up to a high pitch of frenzy by Hitler agitation. The war against the U.S.S.R. was pictured as an easy walkover which would last no more than two or three months at the most. This was vividly brought out by letters from soldiers and officers at the front. Private Kurt Fuchs, for example, wrote in his diary on June 22, 1941: "German troops entered Russia at 3:30 A.M. We marched in the eighth column." Consequently, the advance units crossed the Soviet frontiers even earlier. "Major Mueller," continues Fuchs, "thinks that the war with Russia will last three months. This means there will be no leave for three months. Let us hope we all return from Russia safely."

Here is an entry in a diary of a killed German officer, apparently of high rank, dated July 26: "Again and again we are confronted by one and the same question: how long is this going to last? The city is being shelled by heavy artillery. Our guns are putting up a barrage of fire but the shells often fall short. The Russians have brought up their batteries very close and are shelling so terrifically that soon everything will be razed to the ground. We are told that the war will last only five days more. But this gives us little comfort." This officer apparently referred to the six-week limit which was set by the Germans for the termination of the war. This is confirmed by an entry in the same diary on July 27 from which it appears that the German general postponed the date of the termination of the war for five more days. "Lieutenant Reins, returning from his regiment," we read in the diary, "told us there was no getting out of the war. The men are not to know this for the present. But since the general has already told the Third Company that the war would last another ten days, it can hardly be expected that the mood will be any better."

The Nazi armies very soon became convinced of the impossibility of a quick and easy victory over the U.S.S.R. From the very first days of the war the fascists met with stubborn resistance by the Red Army.

In his radio speech of July 3 Stalin justly declared that fascist Germany's war against the U.S.S.R. began in conditions favorable for the German troops and unfavorable for the Soviet troops. Nevertheless, as a result of the heroic resistance put up by the Red Army, the enemy's best divisions and best air units were smashed.

Some ask why did our army with-

draw, can it be that we have less arms or worse quality than the Germans, can it be that German industry worked better than ours? These questions are all very justified but not completely thought out. That our industry works well is very well known to the enemy, who feels this on his own skin.

The Germans manufactured enormous stocks of war material in preparation for a war of conquest. All German economy was for many years devoted to equipping an army and, in addition, the Germans looted most of the European countries, whose resources and industries were also used to prepare for war against the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Government, while preparing for defense, did not weaken its efforts to raise the material and cultural welfare of the people. But there is also another reason. The U.S.S.R. had to create its industry in a very short space of time, while in Germany the fascists were in possession of a highly developed industry ever since they came to power. Nor should it be left out of account that the fascists were attacking, which means they were able to concentrate superior forces at any given sector of the front. The defending side found it well-nigh impossible to have everywhere along the front, stretching over 2,000 kilometers, an adequate force to counteract the enemy. In this respect the attacking side has great advantages, which the Nazi command tried to exploit to the maximum in advancing along the road of least resistance.

Our government and the military command reckoned with the possibility of a German attack on the U.S.S.R. and were preparing for it. Yet there was the Non-Aggression Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany which did obligate the contracting parties. The Soviet Government did everything in its power to abide by this agreement. One reason for the Red Army's withdrawal and for the loss of our territory—if we leave aside the reason indicated by Stalin in his speech of November 6, namely, the absence of a second front in Europe—is that a sudden attack was launched on us along a front stretching thousands of kilometers by a fully deployed army supported by thousands of tanks and aircraft.

Our army units, on the other hand, had to deploy in the process of resisting the advancing enemy, as it was in a most unfavorable position. Even if all the Red Army units and the commanders were ideal in a military sense, the suddenness of the attack would have given the attackers considerable military advantages. Even during military operations, when vigilance is particularly sharpened and when reconnaissance service keeps a watchful eye on the enemy, the success of an attack still greatly depends on its suddenness. It was on this tactical advantage gained at the beginning of the war that the fascists based, to a large extent, their plan for a speedy victory.

By its supreme devotion to the country, its exceptional bravery and constantly increasing experience in battle, constantly gaining more knowledge of German tactics and

methods, our Red Army was able to inflict tremendous losses on the Germans in men and equipment. The war was more and more assuming the character of a matched encounter, although the initiative remained with the Germans. True, the limits and possibilities of the German initiative were narrowing down, and the political factor, to which Stalin referred in his speeches, is beginning to contribute in greater measure to the success of the Red Army in the war against fascist Germany.

The German High Command boasts that it conducts military operations according to definite plans. It cannot be denied that organization and a certain degree of planning are to be observed in their military operations, but it must not blind us. The counter-blows and counter-offensive of our armies have so upset the German war plans that in essence nothing remains of these plans.

Here in brief are the German plans: Plan No. 1.—Be in Moscow within three weeks of the outbreak of the war. This is not an assumption or the fantasy of individual hot-headed fascists but the plan worked out beforehand in the quiet atmosphere of the military staff. We now know that this plan failed.

Plan No. 2—Be in Moscow within six weeks. This calculation, too, came from the military circles and similarly ended in failure.

Plan No. 3—Be in Moscow within three months. It should be noted that many pro-fascist elements outside Germany believed in this plan, but, like the first two, it was never carried out.

Plan No. 4—This plan of seizing Moscow Hitler announced to the world in his orders to the army and in his speech of October 3.

He boastfully announced that the offensive had begun, that all preparations within human power had been made and that within a few weeks the three chief industrial areas in the Soviet Union would be in his hands. According to Hitler, this would be the last and decisive offensive, would bring victory and would be the greatest requisite for peace.

It now is clear that Hitler counted on being in Moscow by the end of October. But facts are stubborn things. The plans of the German Command and Hitler's desires suffered a fiasco. The offensive begun in October, the force of which can by no means be underrated, played out. Coming up against the tenacious resistance of Moscow, the Germans suffered colossal losses in men and material. They had to prepare a fresh offensive on Moscow and bring up new reserves. The advance on Moscow begun on November 16 cost the Germans a very high price.

The plan of surrounding and seizing Moscow miscarried. At the approaches to Moscow the German army suffered a severe defeat, which assumes ever greater magnitude as the days pass. Our troops inflicted the first severe defeat on the Germans on the southern sector of the front near Rostov. Here our armies smashed one of the German's strongest army groups under Gen-

eral Kleist. The Germans suffered heavy losses in killed, wounded and prisoners and part of their men simply fled in panic. Heavy damage was also caused to German equipment. We captured a large number of tanks, trucks, artillery, machine-guns, rifles and other military supplies and liberated considerable territory from the German invader. When the Germans captured Rostov the fascist press, acting on orders from above, began to boast of German successes on the Southern front, declaring that from a purely industrial point of view the Donbas was of far greater importance than the Moscow district. Indeed, the Donbas is of tremendous importance to us.

After the loss of Rostov the Germans began to say that victory depends on the events at the dicisive sector of the front, namely, on the Western front around Moscow. It is true that the fighting around Moscow is of special importance and its repercussions will perhaps prove fatal for Hitler. At any rate, the Red Army will exert every effort to make this so. The important part in the Red Army's progress in November and December must be attributed to the rout of large Nazi forces under General Schmidt on the Northern front near Tikhvin and the rout of several enemy divisions around Yeletz at the Southwestern front.

No matter how cautiously we appraise the Red Army successes at Moscow and other sectors of the front, we can still say with certainty that the backbone of the German army was cracked. In the fighting around Moscow alone from November 16 through December 10, the Germans lost over 85,000 killed and enormous quantities of equipment. These losses, moreover, are being multiplied every day on all the fronts. The German morale is waning. Physical fatigue and weariness have reduced the steadfastness of the German soldier in battle. The Nazi army is today not the same army that Hitler hurled against us at the start of the war. Hitler promised his soldiers a quick and easy victory over the U.S.S.R. Instead there have been numerous sacrifices and inhuman difficulties. The German soldiers are more and more becoming convinced that the war against the U.S.S.R. holds out no perspective, for they are meeting with ever more powerful blows inflicted by the Red Army.

At present the German soldiery gives vent to more frequent complaints about the difficulties of the war in the East. More and more frequently the Nazi soldiers are asking when it will be over. Seldom do we come across letters from German soldiers that contain no bitter admission of difficulties and the hopelessness of the war on the Eastern front.

Private Raymond Hein, in a letter to his wife dated October 25, wrote: "I can only say I would rather fight ten years in France than one year in Russia."

Private Simon Baumer says in a letter to his family: "Our advance toward Moscow is costing us terribly in killed and wounded. The Russians are resisting with diabolical force. Only now do we realize

that there is no enemy more stubborn than the Russians. If this goes on for another half year, you can put us down as lost."

The German High Command at one time boasted that it would give us no respite and the German offensive would not lose momentum in the winter. After the blows suffered at Moscow and other sectors of the front, Hitler's ringleaders changed their tone. Now they talk of the "planned withdrawal" of their troops to winter quarters. But this is tantamount to admitting the failure of their plans. Undoubtedly we began the destruction of the Nazi army on the approaches to Moscow. The successful operations by our troops at the Moscow approaches have seriously undermined the fascist army not only by inflicting terrific losses in men and materials but also by cracking its morale. But undermined does not mean broken. The Red Army and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are still faced with a most difficult task in their further struggle against Germany's war machine. Our army was retreating although fighting hard and launching strong counter-attacks. Our people felt very keenly the loss of towns and villages. The feeling of hatred for the enemy swelled with every day, as did the feeling of insult to our national pride and national dignity at the Germans trampling on Soviet soil.

In former wars, too, Russian armies had to retreat on more than one occasion, but in the ultimate outcome they beat the enemy. The Red Army made several retreats also in the civil war. The position was particularly grave when the German imperialists occupied the Ukraine in 1918. Lenin said then that the war must be conducted in earnest, that there could be no middle course. "Once the German imperialists have imposed war on us," he said, "it is our sacred duty to soberly appraise our situation, take stock of our forces and check up our economic mechanism." All this, Lenin pointed out, must be done with the speed required in wartime, for any delay in our present situation would be tantamount to death. A cannibal is at the gates—this we cannot afford to forget for a single minute, Lenin pointed out.

Stalin's call to a patriotic war means not only the organization of guerrilla warfare, but the participation of the entire civilian population in defending the towns and villages. Certainly, the best organizers of the local population to fight the German invaders are the commanders of the Red Army units, who in this work receive every assistance of local party and Soviet leaders. Nothing harasses and demoralizes the enemy force so much as the self-sacrificing joint struggle waged by the population in conjunction with regular Red Army units. We could enumerate dozens of towns where the steadfast resistance by the population caused the fascists terrific losses. With the weakening of the fascist army and worsening of its morale, the opportunity for such resistance and its effectiveness increase manifold. Our army is fighting a very strong enemy. Despite furious assaults and even when retreating the morale and fighting

efficiency of our units have grown and this is the guarantee of our victory.

When we speak of "war" we do not always fully realize what this term embraces. Very often war is associated in our minds with the loss of dear ones, with destruction, evacuation and hardships, etc. But this is only one aspect of war, it is but the enemy's actions against us and his attempts to break our resistance. On the other hand, and this is clear to all, the greater our resistance and the stronger the blows inflicted by our armies on the enemy units, the less will be the destruction and the loss of life among the civilian population, the less will be the evacuation and other hardships. An army deals its blows on the enemy by numerical strength, maneuverability and able utilization of its fighting equipment.

Manpower being more or less equal, equipment assumes decisive significance. Hence in order to secure victory we require primarily colossal quantities of weapons, ammunition and other supplies for the army. This aspect of war, namely, the ability of the rear to provide the army with all its needs for the struggle, is the most vital one. Whereas the so-called blitzkrieg requires a concentration of all forces for delivery of a decisive blow at the beginning of the war, a protracted war demands a constant supply of the army over a long period. In this case it is a war to exhaust the nation's forces and undermine the morale of its people.

The fascists wanted to knock out the U.S.S.R. by a single stunning blow dealt at the beginning of the war. This failed. Our army was not strong enough to repel the first blow and oust the enemy from our territory, but it was strong enough to systematically hold back the enemy at favorable positions and, by constantly striking back, to inflict great losses on him. In its defense the Red Army was wearing down the enemy and, thanks to this, the war has become a protracted one despite the German plans and has proved most harassing for fascist Germany.

Of course, a drawn-out war demands a tremendous exertion of all forces of both the Red Army and the entire people. But it gives us time and opportunity to accumulate strength while we defend our positions and to utilize the material support of our allies in preparation for decisive battles. The fascists are not too pleased at having to replenish their army by drawing in reservists from among the people, for with them there comes into the army a feeling of the hidden opposition of the German people to the fascist policy. The morale of the German army is deteriorating steadily and will continue to deteriorate at an accelerated pace. This will be facilitated—indeed is already facilitated—by the poor military training of the reservists and by their undoubtedly lesser perseverance. The main thing, however, is that the German soldier who has not gone through the fascist schooling and fascist "ideological" drilling will not be attracted by the robber aims set by the Nazi rulers.

The protraction of the war is a

heavy blow to the German people. Hitler fought for two years, using the supplies gained by looting of the occupied countries. Some fraction of this booty found its way to soldiers' relatives. Certainly this is no way to enrich the German people nor even to mitigate their want, but it did supply some foothold for fascist agitation and pacified some of the populace.

The Russian front, on the other hand, even from the very beginning of the war, brought the Germans only difficulties and adverse results in the shape of enormous numbers of killed and wounded. Hitler's war supplies, both accumulated and looted, are running low. With every week of the war the Eastern front will demand ever more material resources directly from the German people. Weapons, ammunition, clothing and food necessities for the huge army will be an onerous burden on the Germans. That the German army can live on what it loots is an unfounded illusion of Hitler's. No matter to what tricks the German command resorts, Hitler has no choice but to deprive the German people of their clothing and take away their last morsel of food. This is the essence of a protracted war, and in this lies the inevitability of fascism's defeat. But we must firmly understand that victory will not come from the sky like the proverbial celestial manna. Victories must be won, won in grim and ruthless battle that will require the mobilization of all peoples and forces.

War requires colossal resources and its requirements will grow with every day. Armies at the front and new formations have to be armed and equipped. Unabated fighting involves the expenditure of vast stocks of ammunition. Everyone engaged in producing weapons and ammunition bears the greatest responsibility to the country and the Red Army. The Soviet people responded to the call of our government and Stalin to subordinate everything to the task of crushing the hated foe by heroic deeds on the labor front, by self-sacrificing work in the factories, transport, collective farms and by rendering far-reaching support to the Red Army.

From the very beginning of this war there has been a constant flow of voluntary monetary donations to the country's defense fund. Already by November 1, 1941, the contributions to the nation's defense fund totaled over 500,000,000 rubles in cash and approximately 1,300,000,000 rubles in state bonds. In addition, the people contributed a large sum of platinum, gold and silver valuables and foreign currency. I cannot but quote one fact which provides eloquent testimony to the high patriotism of the Soviet people. On the Kzyl Koshun Collective Farm of the Taktabazar District, Marysk Region, women collective farmers donated eighty-two kilograms of gold-plated silver to the defense fund. The central authorities feared lest some coercion had been resorted to on this collective farm. To investigate this, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R., Berdyev, visited the collective farm and established that the donations were made quite

voluntarily, without any pressure by the local officials. The women told him: "The main job is to defeat the enemy, we can always acquire new ornaments."

The population of Soviet towns and villages has generously and voluntarily contributed warm clothing to the Red Army. In three months, September, October and November, workers, office employees, collective farmers and intellectuals donated 1,174,972 pairs of felt boots, 24,767,232 kilograms of wool, 523,107 sheepskin jackets, 2,062,706 sheepskins, 2,245,115 pairs of woolen and fur gloves and mittens, 2,297,638 pairs of woolen socks and stockings, 1,429,048 pieces of warm underwear, sweaters and jumpers, 1,333,360 fur caps, 1,293,-818 padded jackets and trousers. In addition, large quantities of underwear, tunics, cloth, footwear, etc., were also donated.

The assistance of the population to the front, to its own Red Army, the high feeling of Soviet patriotism, are manifested in many different forms.

The lofty ideas of Lenin and Stalin constitute a powerful factor making for unity and singleness of purpose of the Soviet people and enhancing their heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice. It was under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, and under the leadership of the Communist Party that the Soviet power was won and that constructive work of our people proceeded in the years of peaceful construction. Under this banner we are fighting the imperialist aggressors, the German fascists, and will win victory over them.

This war, bloody and brutal, was imposed upon us against the wishes of our government and our people. We are embattled against the strongest army in the world, against the most inhuman enemy of the Soviet people, against the foe whose cherished dream is to wipe the Slavs and primarily the Russians off the face of the earth. The German fascists have imposed this fight upon us and they are already feeling the worse off for it. Well, we will exert our strength to the utmost, and of strength we have plenty, to crush the enemy. Not a single fascist invader will remain on Soviet soil! Such is the will of our leader, and it is also the desire and thought of the entire Soviet people.

Death to the invaders!

THE GERMAN NATION AT THE CROSSROADS OF HISTORY

BY PETER WIEDEN

THE dual personality, second self or double has always been a favorite theme of harmless comedies of errors but acquires a tragic hue in the sombre picture of German history. Germany has a demoniac double; that double has robbed the other Germany, of which Goethe, Hegel, Marx and Engels were an expression, of light and air. It has taken the place of that other Germany, ousting it by fire and sword. German fascism is the last and most horrible appearance of this double. Needless to say, Hitlerism surpasses every reactionary force of the past by its brutality, savage morality and bestiality. But Hitlerism was not conjured up by a sorcerer; it has a long anguishing history behind it.

Never would fascism have attained such power over Germany were it not in a position to gain a foothold and maintain itself by a long historical chain of victories scored by the forces of reaction over the German people. Hitlerism is, of course, the direct and most extreme expression of reactionary German imperialism. But the specific features of this German imperialism, its inordinate brutality, aggressiveness and degeneration, are to a certain extent explained by the peculiar historical development of the German nation, by that "national misfortune" to which Marx and Engels referred on more than one occasion.

Undoubtedly the German people have contributed in no small share to the progress of humanity. But the German people constituted themselves a nation under contradictory and confused historical conditions and did so much later than other peoples. At all decisive points in its national development it was reaction and not revolution that gained the upper hand in Germany. Every time the German people were confronted with vital issues of nationhood they fell under the influence of reaction, after a transitory revolutionary upsurge. Hence they traversed a wrong path, the path of "national misfortune" leading to catastrophe. People who today ask how it was possible for a nation that gave the world Goethe and Heine, Marx and Engels, to sink so low in Hitler barbarism must take note of these fatal winding paths of German history. But it is a thousand times more important that the German nation itself see the fatal errors of its historical development

and realize that again, for the last time, and for what may be a long period, it stands at historical crossroads.

On November 9, 1941, Goebbels spoke of the German nation's most decisive and last chance. But we must say—and in quite a different sense than that implied by this fascist monger of vileness and diabolical lies—that the German nation is now presented with the very greatest and, as far as can historically be foreseen, perhaps the very last chance of casting off the yoke of reaction and, by exerting its every effort, of transforming the other Germany, a Germany of liberty and progress and of constructive self-determination of the people from a possibility into a reality.

In the preface to his masterly work on the history of the peasant war in Germany, Friedrich Engels wrote, "The German people have also their revolutionary tradition." * This "also" epitomizes the whole tragedy of German historic development. The gigantic armed rebellion of the German peasants in the first half of the sixteenth century was unsuccessful and ended in defeat. The political program of the most progressive and conscientious leaders of the peasantry—Thomas Muenzer, Wendel Hipler and Michael Geismaier—demanded unification of all German lands and states under one centralized power, the overcoming of their feudal scatteredness and anarchy. Betrayed by their central imperial government, abandoned to its fate by the town burghers, hunted down by Catholic and Protestant Church Princes, this huge peasant revolution collapsed. From the epoch of reformation, which Engels called "the national misfortune," there arose not a united Germany of which the humanists dreamed, not a Germany which advanced leaders of the peasant insurrection but a loose conglomeration of feudal barons, a veritable snakes' nest of autocratic principalities.

In France, Louis XV, Richelieu and Louis XVI, in England the Tudors, in Russia Ivan III, Ivan IV, and in particular Peter I, laid the foundations for a united national state and thus objectively created the necessary prerequisites for revolutions that involved the whole nation. Germany had no Elizabeth nor Richelieu, nor Peter I; she had no centralized power or centralized state order—essential conditions for normal national development. German burgherdom, which right up to the very eve of the sixteenth century was experiencing a period of tempestuous development, was thrown back in its progress and overtaken by the English, French and Dutch bourgeoisie. The furious and incessant squabble between the avid and narrowminded feudal landlords, pitiful in its pettiness, their stubborn resistance to all and every attempt to establish a centralized state power, led in the end to national catastrophe—the Thirty Years' War. This war hurled Germany back into a state of barbarism and for a long time she was excluded from general European development.

* *The Peasant War in Germany*, International Publishers, New York.

A veritable army of feudal tyrants representing nothing other than highway robbers and degenerated noblemen trampled and besmirched the peasantry. A miserable burgherdom hemmed in by its niggardly interests and appalling backwardness in all spheres of human endeavor—such was the picture of Germany in those days while in other countries the young bourgeoisie, fully conscious of its might, was developing and bourgeois revolutions were maturing with irresistible force.

Of all the highway robber princes who ruled the country, each of them coveting a few strips of German soil as his own possession, the Prussian kings showed themselves as time went on to be the most dextrous and fortunate. The rise of the Prussian robber state with its whip of discipline, of hard labor and prison, with its bully Junkerdom and militarism, which like a cancerous ulcer destroyed all the vitality of the nation, became Germany's new national misfortune. Lessing, the great German humanist, condemned Prussia as the most slavish state in Europe. One of Germany's finest patriots, the nobleman von Stein, who proclaimed a national liberation war against Napoleon, branded the Prussian Junkers as "antedeluvian creatures."

The Prussian military state grew up in a struggle against Germany and at the expense of Germany. Friedrich II rented his sword first to France and then to England. He used every means and method to fortify the privileges of the Junkers and officers against the burghers. It was he who set forth all the "principles" of the notorious Prussian discipline in a brief formula: "the soldier must fear his officer more than the enemy." The vaunted army of this adventurer king, pride of the Prussians and object of Europe's undivided hatred, was shattered to pieces when at Auerstadt it first came into contact with the non-serf army—Napoleon's army.

Friedrich's spirit was smashed at Jena and Auerstadt by the influence of the new epoch, the epoch of bourgeois revolution. The spirit of the new epoch found its way into Germany and inspired the works of German humanists and German philosophers. Lessing and Herder, Kant and Hegel, Goethe and Schiller—they constituted the great dawn of another Germany. In the midst of Prussian sergeant majors and executioners, faced with feudal tyranny and provincial burgherdom, they expressed in their works the great Germany of progress and human dignity. German humanism and German philosophy did not originate on the basis of the national state nor on the basis of a society encompassing the whole nation. It sprang from a distorted political purpose. The great German thinkers and writers sought to escape from German "national misfortune," from the chaotic and seemingly hopeless policy of niggardly shortsightedness, into the realm of "pure reason" and "pure art." They visualized German unity as the aim of their creative work, but they saw it only in unity of language, unity of culture, unity in the realm of thought and not as a polit-

ical revolution on the scattered soil of the parcelized state (*Kleinstaaterei*).

England was concentrated in London, France in Paris, but there was no German capital. Instead there were some two dozen small and middle-sized provincial towns. The great philosophers and writers of England and France lived in the invigorating atmosphere of a united national society; they tried to exercise a direct influence on social relationships as their militant creative task. This discrepancy between philosophy and politics, this inclination to remain in a sphere of pure abstraction and artificially developed individualism were fatal for the development of the German nation.

Perhaps not a single French or British philosopher can compete with Hegel in the magnitude and presentation of problems, nor in the profundity of his conceptions, but nevertheless all of them were incomparably more closely connected with the pulsating life, aspirations and thoughts of their nations, marching as they did ahead of their peoples and followed, to use Heine's expression, by "the deeds of their thoughts."

The British and French spirit was a broad social spirit; the German spirit contemplated the solitude of the universe and was saturated with the provincial narrowmindedness that had accursed the lot even of German's greatest poets and thinkers. Only two great men of the German people overcame this discrepancy between spirit and politics and set the German philosophy on its feet. They were Marx and Engels. They drew revolutionary conclusions from German philosophy and began a struggle for revolutionary democratic unity of the German nation, for the salvation of Germany from her misfortunes of the past and present. The epoch-making services rendered by Marx and Engels to the international working class in promoting humanity's progress toward socialism require no special proof. But today one cannot but emphasize the services of Marx and Engels to the German nation in particular. They were the initiators of the struggle for the liberty, progress and culture of the German people and the greatest champions of that struggle. They championed the cause of the truly greater Germany. Nor is it accidental that these outstanding champions of German salvation and its future had to live in exile and their voice of enlightenment and warning could reach Germany only from afar.

In England and France the maturing problems of national and social development were solved by the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In Germany they were solved by reaction. Every revolutionary democratic upsurge of the German people has had its bitter reactionary aftermath. The first upsurge of this kind since the days of the great peasant war of 1525 was the liberation war against Napoleon in 1809-1813. This struggle was fettered by the existence of numerous scattered tiny midget states and cities, deep seated prejudices and hypocritical romanticism, by the immaturity and

backwardness of the German bourgeoisie. And it resulted not even in a half victory for the people, but in a nightmarish "holy alliance"—the most oppressing and unbearable forebear of present Nazi reaction. The "German alliance" was a mongrel, an insult and humiliation of the finest hopes of the German patriots, who longed to see unity of the German nation grow out of the liberation struggle against Napoleon. But German unity remained a dream while a constant and furious struggle between Prussia and Austria in Central Europe became a reality.

The Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns could see eye to eye only on one question—the persecution of the German patriots. The bourgeois-democratic revolution was irresistibly maturing in Germany in the forties of the last century. The development of modern industry and trade and the growth of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cut a path through the case-hardened craft spirit, tariff barriers and parcelized state organisms. And then, in 1848, the people arose to destroy the bonds of this state parcelization and put an end to political oppression. They wanted to throw out the rotten corpse of medievalism together with all its attributes—heraldic emblems, king's mantle, Junkerdom and the caste spirit. This revolution failed because of the apprehension of the bourgeoisie at the social demands of the "fourth estate"—the rising proletariat. It failed because of cowardice, half-heartedness and lack of resolution on the part of the petty bourgeoisie, which shuddered at its own "audacity."

The conditions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany were extremely complicated and contradictory. There was the time-honored political routine on the one hand, and the beginning of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat already developing within the shell of the semi-feudal society on the other. German capitalism is younger than that of other European countries. But it even then exhibited senile reactionary features. It regarded the proletariat as its mortal enemy and maintained family relations with the old feudal aristocracy. The result of this struggle was the betrayal by the bourgeoisie of its own revolution. The bourgeoisie fell to its knees before the King of Prussia, whom they humbly petitioned to take over the direction of the revolution and to generously deign to accept the crown of the German empire.

The Communists Marx and Engels and their small band of followers were the only consistent democrats, the only conscientious and unswerving champions of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The German bourgeoisie regarded the bourgeois-democratic revolution as an accidental miscarriage. And no wonder that German bourgeois historians styled 1848 as "a year of madness," depicting it as an exaggeration which, "thank God," had no repercussions. Germany was united not by revolution but by the Prussian sword.

When the King of Prussia in 1866 galloped over the battlefield at

Koeniggratz he remembered "the year of madness" and said with a sigh of relief, "Now this is a real king's gallop."

In 1871, when the united German empire was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, spectators were dazzled by the brilliance of the uniforms and decorations, but the German people were absent. Bismarck was the sole "civilian" in this background of militaristic display when the empire was being formed. And accordingly he was looked upon with disparagement. Germany was here annexed to Prussia and thus there came into being, to use Engels' apt expression, "a German empire of the Prussian nation." There is no doubt that even this German unity was historically progressive. But what a terrific price was paid for this progress! National traditions of the German people, not based on any revolutionary experience, were historically interwoven with reaction, militarism and predatory wars. The new national state made for a rapid development of industry and capitalism. State unity released tremendous productive forces. The German working class grew at a rapid pace, winning its place in the social life. Marx and Engels armed it with the epoch-making ideal of scientific socialism. But at the same time the German working class was influenced by the reactionary traditions of the German nation. Lassalle—that shadow of Bismarck in the German labor movement—was but the first forerunner of the notorious "national socialism," and his ideological influence was never completely overcome by Marxism. Even such a profound Marxian scholar as Franz Mehring did not appreciate the great significance of the struggle which Marx and Engels waged against Lassalle. Mehring even tried to "restore the honor" of Lassalle, considering it possible to form some "synthesis" of Marx and Lassalle.

Reformism within the German labor movement deliberately clung to Lassalle and made of this Prussian nationalist its idol. But if the working class was not in a position to rid itself fully of reactionary traditions in German history, the situation was many times worse with regard to the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. The German petty bourgeoisie could not look back to any great revolution. It had neither its Rousseau nor its Robespierre. For it the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles with its brilliant display of martial splendor was the apex, the zenith of national history. The conception of the Prussian order became the flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood. The anti-Prussian opposition in southern Germany was in essence not democratic, but a provincial, private, religious opposition.

Democratic ideas in Germany were just as frail as plants grown in a cellar without light or sun. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, the most reactionary of all philosophers, gave this rotten marsh plant a false glimmer and helped to bring the German intelligentsia under their fatal influence.

The peculiarities of German historical development have left their

imprint on German capitalism and German imperialism. German capitalism, which inherited the general fatigue in Germany following the Thirty Years' War, developed later than British or French capitalism. This, it is true, enabled it to catch up with its competitors both in technique and organization in a short space of time. On the other hand, it entered a world that had already been divided. All this taken together—the great but tempestuous development of the productive forces, the unrestrained ambition for redivision of the world, an atmosphere of a national state created by non-revolutionary methods—found its peculiar reflection in German imperialism.

From the very start it was a very noisy and aggressive imperialism, always brandishing weapons and always causing a feeling of alarm and war fever in Europe. Moreover, it never failed to deck out its material claims in the fantasy of medieval kings and the armor of knights. It was always colored with the rust of unwholesome romanticism. German imperialism always posed as insulted innocence, as if all other nations were to blame for Germany being centuries behind in her development. German imperialism tried to pass off its avidity for honesty, its aggressiveness for good-naturedness, and its insolence for modesty.

And so average Germans began really to think that the bellicose imperialistic wolf was a poor sheep pitifully bleating for a bit of good grass to satisfy its hunger. Clad in the romantic toga of Lohengrin, posing as a champion of right and justice, German imperialism was forging ahead toward war and a new division of the world.

Kaiser Wilhelm, with the customary tricks of a poor actor, with his bragging threats and autocratic conceit, was for all his unbalanced hysterics a real herald of German imperialism. The first titanic battle for a new division of the world was brought to a close in 1918. For Germany it ended with a military and political collapse. It was the collapse of the reactionary forces that had driven Germany into the war. It opened up a great opportunity for the German people to mend their crippled history by really crushing reaction and indissolubly linking up the national problem with democracy and socialism. But this chance too was passed by. Once more the destinies of the German people were in the clutches of reaction. The victory or defeat of the 1918 revolution should have for a predictable political period decided the fate not only of the working class of Germany but of the whole German nation. A victorious revolution would have spelled Germany's salvation, while a victory of reaction could only lead to a new national catastrophe.

The opportunistic leadership of German Social-Democracy shouldered tremendous historical responsibilities when, in the struggle against revolution, they sided with the forces of counter-revolution. They left intact the system of big landed estates and the power of the Prussian Junkers. They shielded the steel magnates and coal barons, the

Krupps and Thyssens, those who were to blame for the crime of the World War. They called all the officers and generals of the old army to their aid in order to crush the revolution.

From the very first day reaction could install itself in all organs of the republic and, almost unchallenged, prepare to destroy the feeble German democracy. In 1923 things came to a decisive clash between the forces of reaction and those of revolution, decisive for a long period. The defeat of the revolutionary forces was a national tragedy for Germany. The way was now finally cleared for German imperialism to solve German problems after its own fashion—by a sanguinary war for world domination. On the whole, the empire policy of the leading cliques of German imperialism was nothing but a systematic preparation for war. German finance capital, centered in a narrow oligarchy, had in several years developed the concentration of industry and capital to an incredible degree. Tremendous war potentials were merged. With the help of foreign loans and at the expense of the working people of Germany there was created a powerful, technically well equipped, industrial apparatus. Exploitation of the workers was constantly being intensified.

The world economic crisis which broke out in 1929 brought social tension to an extreme limit. It had a particular effect on Germany, with her high concentration of capital. The horrible impoverishment of the masses as well as the development of the class consciousness of the German workers created favorable prerequisites for a new revolutionary upsurge. The German imperialists felt the ground burning under their feet. Resorting to brutal terror and incredible demagogy, they set about establishing a relentless terrorist dictatorship. Their plans were aided by several factors. One of these was the policy of Social-Democracy, which was repelling the petty-bourgeois sections of the people. Split and undermined by internal strife, the working class possessed only a limited power of attraction for other sections of the toiling people. Millions of peasants, civil servants, office employees and intellectuals looked into empty space.

Catastrophic unemployment was demoralizing a part of the working class. Incited, desperate and politically illiterate masses came into motion and were prepared to follow any demagogue, even if he promised them the moon. In those critical and decisive hours for the nation all the reactionary chauvinist traditions were resurrected and plunged on Germany like a filthy and turbid rain. Recognized leaders of finance capital came to the fore together with adventurists of Hitler's party, who were accepted with hope by the masses. The axe of the executioner who had once tortured the peasants, the bestial brutality of the Thirty Years' War, vile anti-Semitism which had outdone the very worst example of the medieval inquisition, the rotten atmosphere of the Prussian barracks, a disgraceful spirit of humble submission, the mixture of police rule and

mysticism which grew up on the graves of defeated revolutions, the insatiate greed and pious hypocricy of German imperialism always posing as an honest and straightforward poor man—all this was mixed by Hitlerism in one devil's cast into one malignant dye and carried to incredible extremes.

The German nation has traversed a fatal historical path—a path leading from reaction to reaction and from catastrophe to catastrophe. It should now be clear what a hell of suffering, horror and dishonor reaction holds for it. Its fatal double has appeared in his last touch of fascist tyranny. It is time, high time, to inflict a mortal blow on this double and bring into historical realities the other Germany, the great Germany of Goethe and Beethoven, of Marx and Engels, the Germany of liberty and peace. The German nation has a great chance —but for a long time to come the last chance—of redeeming the crimes and disgrace of Hitler's rule by a mighty popular insurrection and by real national action, of ending the war by overthrowing the Nazi band and re-establishing the trust of other nations.

The Germans and the German nation today stand at the crossroads of history and the German nation will at long last, once and for all, wrest its fate from the hands of reaction and take things into its own hands.

FROM THE REICHSTAG FIRE TO WORLD CONFLAGRATION

BY G. FRIEDRICH

FEBRUARY 27th marks nine years since the Reichstag fire in Berlin. Today the whole world is enveloped in flames.

Nine years ago Hitler said that the flames surging from the Reichstag building were a "signal torch." Indeed they were a signal for the drive to impose fascist barbarity on mankind.

At that time there were millions who could not clearly see the extremely important significance of this event and its many repercussions. Even today there are many who have already forgotten, or who are too young to remember how it all began.

But if we are to aid in the combating of evil we must know what causes engendered it. Let us, therefore, look back to those days.

In a speech on the ninth anniversary of his advent to power, Hitler described how in building up the Nazi movement he had constantly to begin from the ground up, for 90 out of every 100 of his followers deserted him. What an appropriate thing to recall on this anniversary. Indeed, on January 30, 1933, when President Von Hindenburg appointed Hitler Reichs Chancellor, he was precisely in such a position. His followers were leaving him in large numbers. In November, 1932, in the elections, Hitler's party lost no less than 2,000,000 votes, while the Communist Party of Germany scored a brilliant victory, receiving 6,000,000 votes.

How, then, could Hitler "seize power" under such conditions? In actual fact he never had the occasion to "seize" it. Hitler's romantic tale about the "movement's struggle prior to capturing power" is nothing but cheap fabrication of history.

On that fateful January 30, 1933, Hitler was smuggled to the Premiership by the backstairs intrigues of his big capitalist promotors. He was appointed Reichs Chancellor by Hindenburg, the same Hindenburg who was elected president by Hitler's opponents, who hoped he would safeguard Germany against Hitler domination.

Hitler was appointed Chancellor because his backers, the steel and coal magnates, the Prussian Junkers and warmongering generals who contemplated this desertion from the fascist party with horror, wanted with the help of Hitler's terrorist bands to prevent the unity of the progressive forces of Germany. They perceived that events

were approaching the zero hour. This indeed was their last chance to bring Hitler to power against the will of the people by imposing him on the nation.

But could Hitler ever maintain power by ordinary methods against the will of the absolute majority of the German people? Even the fascists did not believe this. They were in the minority (even together with their German national coalition friends) both in the nation and in the Reichstag. The Communists and Social-Democrats together had 2,500,000 majority over Hitler.

In the first days of Hitler's rule unemployment registered a drastic increase. The prices of meat and fats were soaring. The workers were ever more insistently demanding a united front against Hitler. Even in the S.A. there was a growing feeling of disappointment since Hitler failed to fulfill any of his demagogic promises. The new Reichstag elections scheduled for March 5 could only bring Hitler dismay and defeat. Such was the predominant opinion in the Nazi camp at the end of February, 1933.

"What next? Something must happen!" These words could be heard everywhere in Germany in February, 1933. They were uttered not by Hitler's opponents, but in the circles of his own party, where nervous tension was great.

"Something" must happen, something that would lead the Nazis out of the blind alley. This "something" could be felt in the air. What actually that "something" was was revealed by Reichstag Deputy Wilhelm Pieck in a speech to the German people delivered on February 26 at a mass meeting at the Berlin Sport Palace.

"The position is a grave one," Pieck declared. "Certain circles are spreading rumors that the Communists are allegedly preparing an attempt on Hitler's life. Let me say from this platform that we are enemies of such attempts of individual terror. But let me remind you of the provocative assassinations practiced in Italy which served as a pretext for the incredible persecution of the workers."

This sober voice of warning was drowned in the roar of thousands of amplifiers of Goebbels' newly established broadcasting system, it was drowned by hundreds of fascist speakers and thousands of screaming headlines in the newspapers—"Bolshevik Plans for a Coup d'Etat," "Bolshevik Plans for Organized Terror Against the Peaceful Population, for Plunder of Private Property and Civil War!"

These methods were designed to prepare the people for that "something" which was felt in the air.

The night following February 27 this "something" happened. The Reichstag Session Hall and the home of the building were enveloped in flames. One of the first to appear on the scene was Adolf Hitler. But how was it that on that day, only a week from the decisive voting day, he was in Berlin and not at election meetings as on all previous days? Yes, it so happened that precisely this day was left free of speaking engagements. And it so happened that Goering

and Goebbels too were free on that evening. They even had meetings to attend, but appeared on the scene within a few minutes. Was this accidental? We shall soon find out.

Hitler's first words when he saw the sea of flames were: "This is a signal from Providence. No one will prevent us now from dealing with the Communists with an iron hand."

How could Hitler, within ten or fifteen minutes after the first news of the fire, lay the blame on the Communists, when it was technically impossible even to establish anyone's responsibility for the fire? Was this chance accident? No! Then and there he approached the Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Express*, Seeton Delmar, with the ominous words, "You are witness to a great epoch in German history and this fire is its beginning!"

Indeed the Reichstag Fire ushered in an epoch of German history, an epoch great only for its disgraceful, hideous and vile crimes which have brought shame on the whole German people. It is great only when measured by the streams of blood that have flowed incessantly these last nine years.

The facts cited above and Hitler's utterances were neither accidental nor intuitional. The Hitler-Goering-Goebbels trio were only performing a role prepared well beforehand. At any rate, Hitler made a bad job of his part. He was like an amateur who butted in with his lines before it was time. He was to take his lead from Goering, author-producer of this bloody drama.

The Leipzig trial revealed that the crime of setting fire to the Reichstag was discussed in all details in Goebbels' home several days beforehand. The original plan was to foment rumors about an attempt on Hitler. But this plan was exposed to the masses by Reichstag Deputy Pieck and the fascists had to abandon it. Instead they adopted the plan by Goering. It was the plan of provoking a terrible crime, blame for which could be laid at the door of Hitler's opponents, thus providing a pretext for their removal and extermination. This pretext was to be supplied by the Reichstag Fire.

Goering undertook to procure all incendiary materials and to provide keys to the underground passages of the central heating system which connected his house with the main Reichstag building. Goebbels fixed the date and time with the view to making the best use of the crime for propaganda purposes.

Roles were carefully distributed among S.A. Obergruppenfuehrer and murderer Heines from Breslau, S.A. Gruppenfuehrer from Berlin-Brandenburg Karl Ernst, S.A. men Fiedller and Mohrenschild and that degenerate individual Van der Lubbe from Holland. The Berlin Police Chief, Count Helldorf, made the latter's acquaintance in homosexual circles and decided to employ him for the execution of this plan. Van der Lubbe was to act the "Communist caught at the scene of the crime."

Everything went off according to plan. When Hitler had made his statement to the *Daily Express* correspondent, Ernst, Fiedller and Mohrenschild had already managed to escape through the underground

passage and wall surrounding Goering's mansion. Meanwhile Chief of Police Helldorf, one of the firebrands, was "examining" his own tool, Van der Lubbe. Hitler, Goering and Goebbels began to reap the fruits of their crime.

"No matter how fine the weave, sun and light will always show through," says the proverb. But the crime perpetrated by the Nazi leaders was not at all finely woven. There were altogether too many accomplices and Hitler had no little trouble in removing them one after the other. One of these, Goering's intimate friend, Doctor George Bell, warned by his Nazi friends, escaped to Buchholzen-Kuffstein in Austria. But this was in vain. On April 5 he was "bumped off" by one of Hitler's S.A. The same fate befell Erik Jan Hanussen, friend of Count Helldorf, who only a few days before the Reichstag Fire, at a spiritualist seance, prophesied a "big fire." On April 7 his body was found in the woods near Berlin.

Doctor Oberforhen, Chairman of the German Nationalist Reichstag group, who knew of the crime, drew up a memorandum demanding proceedings against the real culprits, Goering & Company, in order thereby to defend the position of his own party in the face of plans to make the Nazis the sole ruling force in the country. He was killed on May 3 by the Nazis at his home in Kiel.

S.A. Gruppenfuehrer Ernst was "liquidated" later in the notorious Saint Bartholomew Night of June 30, 1934, when Hitler ordered the murder of his "best friend," Roehm, chief of the storm-troopers, and hundreds of others, whose presence proved inconvenient for the Nazi regime.

But Ernst, knowing what his fate would be, concealed in a reliable place a memorandum written in his own hand, describing the entire crime, from the meeting at Goebbels' home to his escape. Subsequently this memorandum found its way abroad.

From this crime there was born the so-called Third Reich. It was built on the lie that Van der Lubbe, Goering's tool, was a Communist acting on the orders of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties and that he was specially trained in Moscow. It has been proven to the whole world that the Communist Party membership card "found" on Van der Lubbe was a crude forgery and that he had been exposed in 1931 as an agent provocateur. It has been proven that he had never been in the Soviet Union and that prior to his implication in the crime he was frequently seen in fascist circles and had been known to deliver anti-Bolshevik speeches.

The National-Socialist state was built on the lie that on the eve of the Reichstag Fire there were allegedly found in the Karl Liebknecht House (the central offices of the Communist Party) "documents" containing plans of "Bolshevik terror" in Germany. This was the pretext for introducing the State of Emergency, banning all Communist and Social-Democratic papers and arresting tens of thousands of anti-fascists, who were subjected to torture and killed.

To this day, Hitler has not presented his "proof" to the public. He has failed to do so for the simple reason that no such proof exists. The Nazi regime is based on the lie that the German people were allegedly in agreement with all these incredible crimes of the fascist incendiaries. In actual fact, however, Hitler's party, after its unprecedented crime on February 27, after it strangled the truth by depriving the German people of all elementary rights, freedom of assembly, free speech and the right to organize, despite the huge volume of lying and slanderous propaganda, never received a majority among the German people. In the elections of March 5, 1933, the Nazis received 17,200,000 votes out of 44,600,000 of those who had the right to vote in Germany. This is but 39 per cent.

The Nazi state owes its origin to the fact that eighty-one mandates of the Communist Deputies to the Reichstag were annulled, for only in this way could the fascists engineer a "majority" in the Reichstag, and proceed by means of savage violence to destroy one opponent after another.

After the Communists came the turn of the Social-Democrats, came the Catholics and finally came the turn of the German Nationalists, the Nazi's own allies, by whose grace Hitler had been made Reichs Chancellor. This is how the Hitler dictatorship was established and how the German people were enslaved —as the result of the taking of thousands of lives, swindling and wanton brutalities.

True, the Reichstag fire evoked a powerful opposition movement throughout the world. In March, 1933, in order to substantiate their lies about the "Communist" Reichstag fire plot, by some sort of sensation, the Nazis arrested three Bulgarians, among them George Dimitroff, leader of the Bulgarian Communists. They were arrested as accomplices in the crime.

Undoubtedly Goering will, for the rest of his life, regret this arrest, made in a fit of blind fury. For with Dimitroff there came into being a movement against fascism, headed by the man whose struggle under terrible conditions at the Leipzig trial served as a brilliant example for millions of fighters for liberty.

The anti-fascists published a collection of documents known as the "Brown Book," which cited numerous proofs against the lying concoctions about the Reichstag Fire. The book, translated into dozens of languages and circulated in large numbers in Germany proper in a special edition, printed on thin paper, became the weapon which compelled the fascists to give up their original plan of tacitly passing by this crime and, as soon as the trial was over, quietly finishing off their victims. But the "Brown Book" made them talk. In their press and over the radio they were compelled to contest its arguments. Thus, they were being forced to the wall, entangled more and more in contradictions.

An international tribunal, made up of jurists of world repute, met in London with Sir Stafford Cripps presiding. As against the showy

Leipzig trial staged by the Nazis this tribunal established the real facts and the real culprits.

Dimitroff's trial in the Leipzig Reichscourt lasted three months. When the "accused," Dimitroff, uttered his first words, the entire world listened with rapt attention. In vain did the old fascist judges try to intimidate Dimitroff and expel him from the court. In vain was their rage and fury.

When Dimitroff spoke, replying to questions or putting questions, he was always directing the trial. During three months of struggle Dimitroff showed the peoples the world over how one must pass from the defensive to the offensive in the struggle against fascism and how every possibility must be used to expose fascism.

Dimitroff, who was then fettered and a prisoner of fascism, just as whole peoples are fettered by fascism today, demonstrated the strategy of this struggle in practice. He showed how the fascists could be exposed before the masses on all major issues.

His first words, in speaking of himself, hit the mark. "I don't belong to those Socialists of whom the German Crown Prince is one." This statement in itself branded as a fake the "Socialism" of the Nazis, among whom were the rich Junkers Krupp and Flick and other robbers of the people.

When one of the Reichstag porters, called to the witness stand, brazenly asserted that he saw Dimitroff in the Reichstag Building on the day of the fire, when Dimitroff had succeeded in proving that on that day he was in Munich, Dimitroff asked "who paid you for your evidence?" The whole world replied: The fascist government. This enabled Dimitroff to brand the corruption and falsity of the whole system.

And when the Nazis brought in the criminal Leberman to take the witness-stand for the prosecution and gave the record of his previous crimes, Dimitroff's terse remark, "The circle is closed—after the Nazi Reichstag Deputies and journalists the Reichs Prosecutor introduces criminals and thieves," showed up the nature of the fascist party, which tried to pose as a party of honest men.

Lastly, Dimitroff questioned the main culprit, Goering, who began as a "witness" with an anti-Soviet slander and spoke of "criminal Bolshevism." When Dimitroff asked him was he aware that Bolshevism was an idea ruling one-sixth of the world, the Soviet Union, with which Germany maintains diplomatic and economic relations, and which by its orders provides work and bread to hundreds of thousands of German workers, Goering began to lose confidence. He muttered something about dubious Soviet promissory notes, but on the following day the official German agency was constrained to explain that the Soviet Government always punctually met its obligations.

Under a shower of questions by Dimitroff, Goering quickly lost his composure. In a fit of hysterics he roared, "Wait until we get hold of you outside this court!" To this Dimitroff answered only, " I am

highly satisfied with the replies of this witness."

Indeed nothing was left of the "impartiality" of the German Court and standing exposed to the world was Goering as the man who set fire to the Reichstag. Together with him were exposed the brutality and crimes of the fascist system.

Goebbels, who was always so resourceful, wriggled like a snake when Dimitroff asked him a simple question: Did not the "Fuehrer himself greet the murderers of the workers?" Goebbels muttered something to the effect that Hitler in sending a message of greetings to S.A. murderers sentenced to death thought "that they had served the German people." Thus murder became a national virtue! Again the Nazis were exposed to the world in their true colors as the party of cowardly murderers.

Lastly, one should recall here Dimitroff's splendid words, which helped expose the vile chauvinist slander of the fascists, their hatred for the allegedly "low-down Slav peoples," and how Dimitroff linked up his proud statement on behalf of the Bulgarian people with the international struggle against fascism. This was a timely lesson.

Dimitroff said, "I have been called a Bulgarian savage. . . . My country has been characterized as savage and backward. Material culture in Bulgaria is probably not so high as in other European countries, but the mass of our people do not stand either intellectually or politically on a lower level than the masses of other European countries. A people who despite 500 years of foreign yoke have lost neither nationality nor language are clear proof of this. It is only fascism that is barbarous and savage. But I ask you in what other country is fascism not barbarous and savage?"

Shattered politically and morally, and influenced by the feeling of indignation throughout the world, the fascist court was at last compelled to acquit Dimitroff and the other accused. Only their own accomplice, Van der Lubbe, who throughout the trial was kept in a state of semi-consciousness by constant drug injections, was removed by the Nazis with the help of the scaffold.

Dimitroff's acquittal marked a victory of the world anti-fascist movement which was of historic significance. As the Moscow *Pravda* wrote then, this verdict placed the fascists in a position from which they had no way out. On the one hand they were compelled to acquit the Communists because the forgeries and lies on which the whole trial was built were shattered to pieces. On the other hand the verdict, as was evident from the bill of indictment, was compelled to prove that Van der Lubbe had set fire to the Reichstag alone. The whole world was pointing to the real culprits—the Hitler Government and its terrorist gang.

A widespread popular movement involving large masses of people swept throughout the world. Even in enslaved Germany, brave Germans demonstrated outside of the Leipzig Court. Goering could not carry out his threat of finishing off Dimitroff outside of the courtroom.

Exactly one year after their crime,

February 27, 1934, the fascists were compelled to release Dimitroff who, much to the joy of the whole Soviet people, arrived in Moscow.

Dimitroff showed the masses the correct path to victory over fascism. This path lies through uncompromising struggle, singleness of purpose and unity of Hitler's opponents.

How, then, could it come about that after such a brilliant victory over fascism, the latter could commit ever new crimes, start new fires and fan the flames of a world war and enslave other peoples?

The reply is simple and in it is a serious lesson for all nations: Because the united front of the working class and the unity of all Hitler opponents, created during the Leipzig trial, was not continued consistently and was not perfected; because the peoples tolerated capitulators in their own ranks, and weak-kneed individuals were able to betray the struggle for indivisible peace.

This path of anti-fascist unity would have preserved peace for the whole world and would have averted measureless suffering. This path would have deprived fascism of the opportunity to arm itself, to enslave Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other countries. With this path chosen, much that has happened would have been inconceivable and the nations would have once and for all extinguished the fires of world conflagration.

But this did not happen. Hitler, having subjugated the German people, proceeded to enslave Europe and is today engaged in sanguinary and predatory war through which he hopes to subjugate the world. His crimes have grown to colossal dimensions.

But just like the gangster who always applies the same methods of terror and loot, just as the thief always uses the same instruments, so Hitler has remained true to his method—the method used in the provocative Reichstag Fire, the method which led from the Reichstag Fire to world conflagration.

Those who have not yet grasped the essence of this method would do well to acquaint themselves with the bible of National-Socialism—Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, where among other things the author says, "The greater the lie the greater is the likelihood of its being believed because the wide mass of people in their credulity are more likely to believe big lies than small ones, because they themselves, if they ever lie, do so on small things and are ashamed to tell big lies."

The Reichstag Fire of February 27 was followed by dozens of other crimes, all in the same view and all of the same nature. It was a constant repetition of the old game of "Thief."

On September 20, 1938, Hitler announced that he did not want a single Czech. Six months later he annexed Czechoslovakia to his robber state, only to lay the blame for this gangster attack on the Czech people itself.

He shouts that he is interested merely in the national liberation of the German people, but goes on to enslave dozens of other peoples, laying all the blame on his victims.

The method of demoralizing his opponents by bribing capitulators and traitors in their midst, so as to be able to deal with them piecemeal —the method first applied in Germany—was later applied to victims in other parts of the world.

Hitler succeeded in this method up to June 22, 1941, when he treacherously attacked the Soviet Union.

The recent note by Foreign Commissar Molotov, describing the brutality of Hitler's army in the Soviet Districts, has evoked worldwide response and indignation. This historic document of the Soviet people accuses Hitler of laying waste to whole regions and cities, of murder and crime such as the world has not yet witnessed.

Here it is a question not of one Reichstag Fire, but of thousands of Reichstag Fires, which Hitler has started in the Soviet country. And once more, as during the Reichstag Fire nine years ago, Hitler exclaims, "Not the murderer but his victim is to blame, not the thief but the robbed, not the fascist incendiary, but the Bolshevik danger is to blame."

But today the nations are receiving inspiring object lessons showing the only language that can nail these lies. They see the mighty blows dealt by the Red Army against the Nazi criminals. They see the example of struggle, ruthless and uncompromising, stopping at no sacrifice. It is the example shown by the whole Soviet people.

Just as during the Leipzig trial the fascists were faced with a tremendous international movement whose scope proved too much for them, so in the Soviet Union they have found an adversary in the country of workers and peasants that shows the world how Hitler Germany can be beaten, both politically and militarily.

On Soviet soil, devastated by Hitler's Landsknechts, the Nazis have come face to face with the 190,000,000 Soviet people, knit together in iron unity and pledged to wage struggle until these world war incendiaries are wiped out. It is here that they will meet their fate. Here will be completed the trial which began in Leipzig in 1933, only this time the real culprits will be in the dock.

The nations appreciate that it is time to put an end to this disgraceful method of capitulation and hesitation, splits and weakness in the struggle for peace and liberty, and the more energetically they do this in their own ranks the sooner will victory be won.

The Leipzig trial was a political defeat for the Nazi band and Dimitroff was wrested from the clutches of the fascist executioners. Today it is a matter of liberating entire mankind from the fascist plague.

At that time the masses of people failed to continue the struggle and to lead it to its logical end. The quicker, the more thoroughly and energetically must we now make up for lost time.

Such is the lesson which today every fighter for freedom and every anti-fascist must draw from all Hitler's incendiary acts between 1933 and 1941.

FROM THE INTOXICATION OF VICTORY TO BITTER SOBERING

(Extracts from a letter by a functionary of the Communist Party of Germany)

BY K. ERWIN

JUNE 22 was the most fateful day in Germany's history. At 6 A.M. Germany was awakened by Hitler's speech from which our people learned of the Nazis' treacherous and criminal attack on the Soviet Union. The indignation of the progressive working class elements was beyond description. For the general public the news came as a bolt from the blue. Ideologically Germany had not been prepared for war with the Soviet Union. For had not the Nazi chieftains through the press and radio assured the people that no differences separated Germany and Soviet Russia, and that war with Russia would spell Germany's greatest calamity? But secretly from the people the Nazis had been preparing for war against a country which had entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany, had supported the German nation in the trying days following Versailles, and sought only the opportunity to continue its gigantic construction work.

Hitler's sudden, unjustified and cynical attack was designed to take unaware not only Soviet Russia but the German people too. His plan was to overwhelm the people, give them no time to think—confront them with an accomplished fact.

By seven in the morning our comrades were on the way to factories with instructions to organize protest meetings by direct action. I made my way to one of our secret meetings to confer with our people.

Berlin had a somber appearance on that fateful day. There were, of course, no signs of enthusiasm by the populace, and alarm and dejection could be felt everywhere. Strong police details patrolled the streets as in days of great civilian disorder. Gestapo plainclothesmen were posted at street corners and stared into the face of everyone.

Obviously Hitler had a reason to fear his people and was ready to handle them roughly. We Communists, too, expected an unquiet day in Berlin. We were indeed convinced that after the conclusion of the German-Soviet Pact Hitler would not be able to swing our people over to war against the U.S.S.R. We trusted the wisdom and class consciousness of the Ber-

lin worker. But subsequent events show that we miscalculated.

Toward evening it became clear that the Berlin worker would not budge. Attempts by our comrades to hold mass meetings near factories met with no success. All we could manage were small clandestine meetings of our Party organizations and sympathizers in various districts. We felt our great responsibility to the workers of the world and primarily to our Russian brothers, who were now shouldering the whole burden of the war with Hitler Germany.

At that time we saw with distress and affliction that the war, like a wave, was sweeping over the heads of our party organizations, which were just coming back to life. . . . The German people were embarked on a most rapacious and predatory war against the first socialist country in the world. They did so reluctantly, like an ox being led to slaughter. I am referring to the "neutral" mass which is neither fascist nor anti-fascist. But precisely because this mass was passive, public opinion was being shaped by the out-and-out brazen Nazi gang, which was marching East with obscene songs and bloodshot eyes. It was a band of drunken landsknechts accustomed to violating, robbing and killing peaceful inhabitants, a gang that had branded the whole of Germany with the disgraceful swastika.

Explanation can be found for the cowardice of those who, while opposed to the criminal anti-Soviet war, nevertheless tried to advance some rotten excuse for their capitulation. Some of them reasoned in a purely philistine manner: "It's like banging your head against a stone wall. The Nazis are strong, and if you put up a fight you will either be killed or land in prison." But these people forgot that had the Russian workers taken this line they would never have overthrown tsarism and abolished the rule of the landlords and capitalists.

Among the former Social-Democrats there were no small number who preferred to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. They took the view that "it is too early to come out. We must wait until the Russians break Hitler's neck."

Anti-Nazi soldiers at the front tried to find some justification by referring to military discipline. "We are soldiers," they argued, "and have no choice but to obey orders."

Thus passed the first few days of the war. Then came the first reports of the German army's rapid advance and of its capture of Soviet cities. Every possible means of self-advertisement was brought into play to incite chauvinistic sentiment among the people. Goebbels was at his worst. The High Command communiqués of German successes were announced to the accompaniment of fanfares. Nearly every Sunday the German people were treated to fantastic figures of annihilated Russian divisions, destroyed tanks, aircraft and artillery. Every cinema showed films of German soldiers passing through burning Russian towns and villages. Petty-bourgeois audiences, especially the women, sighed and whispered, "What a

blessing that all this isn't taking place in Germany, but in Russia."

Very soon came a slanderous campaign about alleged Russian atrocities. Honest men found it difficult to breathe freely. The Nazi scoundrels tried to depict as manifestations of "brutal" Russian nature the bravery and valor of our Russian comrades, who were so heroically defending their country and the socialist system.

The people were simply becoming savages under the influence of this propaganda. Every wastrel holding down a soft job in the rear would shout hysterically, "Not a single Russian must be left alive."

The progressive workers realized the falsity of this propaganda, for they knew it was nothing but a smokescreen to cover up the atrocities committed by the German armies in Russia. We knew the Nazis only too well to entertain any illusions on this score. But yet what we subsequently learned of the German atrocities, particularly those committed by S.S. Divisions, filled every one of us with horror. I met one worker, an old sympathizer of ours, who was beside himself with rage. "This gang is disgracing the German people," he told me. "You feel ashamed of being German after all this."

But the Nazis felt very pleased with themselves. Every Nazi youngster walked about like a conqueror sharing in the victories attributed to the Fuehrer. Nor was the Fuehrer himself to be outdone in self-praise. At his instructions, Goering and Goebbels lauded him to the skies as the world's greatest strategist and military leader. Everyone who did not belong to the fascist hierarchy was nauseated by endless cinema films showing Hitler in a hundred and one different poses, bending over the map of Russia and indicating to Brauchitsch and Keitel the route of the German armies. The Nazis screamed to the world that within six weeks the war would be over and—we must admit—the German population, deceived and misled, fell for this lie.

The majority believed that the sole path to peace was through Germany's victory. I particularly stress this point, for it formed one of the greatest difficulties in our work of carrying out the slogan issued by the Central Committee of our party, namely, "Strike at Hitler From the Rear."

July and August passed in an atmosphere of intoxication from victory. But toward the end of August the mood of the masses began to change. Many began to doubt and say "Wherever there are many victories there must be many losses."

Complaints about the incredible difficulties of the campaign became more frequent in letters from men at the front. Soldiers wrote of the "fanatical" stubbornness of the Russians, who fought to the last cartridge, of the deadly fire of the Russian artillery, of the terror caused among the German troops by the Russian partisans lurking in impassable forests and marshlands, and of constant partisan raids behind the German lines. The German soldier complained of the abscence of roads in Russia, of bad supplies and of fatigue.

In Germany the people began to realize what the campaign in Russia actually entailed. War communiqués lost some of their shining brilliance. About this time the number of hospital trains bringing back wounded began to increase rapidly. Day and night these trains passed through Eastern Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland, taking care not to stop at large railway stations in the daylight so as not to cause anxiety among the population. But nonetheless the news about the terrific losses of the German Army did find its way to the rear. It was brought by the wounded and crippled who returned home. It was passed by word of mouth by the women who went to small railway stations in the hope of finding one of their family in the hospital trains. Sinister evidence of these losses was provided by the long absence of letters and by long columns of obituaries in the daily press.

Our organization in Chartlottenburg carried out, on its own initiative, a secret house-to-house inquiry and we discovered that from 65 to 75 per cent had lost someone at the front.

In Eastern Prussia and Silesia there are villages where only from 10 to 20 per cent of the mobilized male population are still alive. The people could judge the magnitude of the German losses also by the fact that, beginning with August, eighteen-year-old youngsters and old men, as well as the sick and unfit, were being drafted.

Despite the most vigorous measures by the authorities, reports of the Soviet and British radio about the real German losses did get to the knowledge of the population by diverse routes and had a very depressing effect, particularly on the women. The people began to disbelieve Goebbels' official figures. They began to realize that the Nazi rulers were cynically lying and insolently deceiving them. The average German, already prey to misgivings and doubts, began to feel disgusted by Goebbels' latest lie about the ineffectiveness of the air raids over Germany. I do not know whether you are aware that several cities in Western Germany have been partly demolished by British bombings. These are Cologne, Aachen, Mannheim and Münster. Gelsenkirchen and Essen in the Ruhr, as well as Hamburg and Bremen, suffered heavy damages too. Our old and beautiful Cologne lost whole streets. In Aachen, 475 houses, with 15,000 apartments, were destroyed in a single night, that following July 8. Münster suffered a veritable catastrophe. The whole of the so-called old city was destroyed in one night. The Cathedral, the Castle, the railway station, the post office and whole blocks of houses along Hammerstrasse and Roggenmarkt are in ruins.

While Goering's Luftwaffe was bombing London, Coventry, Plymouth and Birmingham, our burgher was overjoyed at the idea of aeriel warfare. He demanded the exemplary punishment of unruly England and shouted "Give them more." But when the British planes began to bomb the vital centers of Western Germany day after day,

the burgher was not only beside himself with frenzy at the "cruelty" of the British but began to entertain some unorthodox thoughts about Goering himself.

The unexpected appearance of Soviet planes over Berlin had an even greater sobering effect on those who only yesterday were loud in their applause of Goering. People crowded in bomb shelters began in guarded tones to curse that "fat pig" Goering.

Especially difficult was the position of the worker and office employee. After a sleepless night in a bomb shelter they had to spend from 12 to 14 hours at work—and hard work at that—practically without a break. Add to this the constantly growing poverty of the working population. Never have I seen my people so poorly clad. The Sunday suit so carefully stored away in the closet was taken out and worn until threadbare or exchanged for food. New clothes and footwear are not to be had even for coupons. And if after great difficulty you do succeed in getting something it is often so inferior as to be useless.

There is no soap either for washing or laundry use. There are no vegetables, and even potatoes are at a premium. The Berlin markets present a sad picture of long queues of women waiting for food. Women and children stand for hours on end to buy a few onions, or a handful of peas. In Munich, the center of peasant Bavaria, one has to accept payment in kind. And all this after Hitler has robbed the richest agricultural countries of Europe!

When the war against Soviet Russia broke out the Nazi scoundrels enticed the population by stories of trains of grain, butter, eggs and fat pork that would be coming in from Russia. And it must be admitted that not only among the Nazis but among wider sections of the population one encountered many who were only too eager to loot Russia. The basest instincts were coming to the fore, and this the Nazis used to good advantage. The people began to lose all elementary feelings of decency. Respectable mothers of families who regarded themselves as "models of honesty" according to bourgeois standards saw nothing disgraceful in their sons wresting the last morsel of bread from Russian mothers and Russian children.

We all had vivid memories of cars and trucks loaded with soldiers' parcels streaming into Germany from Paris; we remembered German women dressed in Lyons silk, in the choicest of French woolens and in costumes of the latest Paris styles. We remembered how officers' wives reeked with the odor of Coty perfume and ate French chocolates and drank French champagne.

But those who expected material gains from the Russian campaign were disillusioned. From soldiers' letters the people learned that in retreating the Russians were taking away everything and what they could not take away they destroyed. Neither the much promised Russian pork nor the celebrated Russian furs were forthcoming. Instead there was the disquieting news that the German soldiers were on short rations and were not supplied with

anything resembling warm clothes in the event of the war dragging out into the winter.

The food situation, far from improving with the outbreak of the war, went from bad to worse and queues grew longer while stocks were rapidly vanishing. At the same time the German advance had slowed down. It was obvious that the war was drawing out and that all Hitler's timetables were upset.

The dreaded spectre of a winter campaign loomed ahead. Everyone who had relatives at the front was in deadly fear for their safety. What would happen to their boys in the terrible Russian winter with its snowstorms which had buried Napoleon's army? The people were anxious to know when this mental torment and physical privation would come to an end. But no end was in sight. The belief that peace was possible only through a German victory began to give way to a passionate desire to see the war over.

All the dissatisfaction accumulated among the masses both at the front and in the rear merged into one longing—to bring this accursed war to an end. The Nazi rulers were aware that the situation was extremely tense. They knew that there can be no playing with the mood of the masses.

They realized that no amount of articles by that arch-liar Goebbels would ever change this frame of mind that was new for the German people. Some outlet for this pent-up feeling had to be found and Hitler sought it in a new major offensive on the Eastern Front. Indeed, the offensive launched by the German Army on October 2 was—apart from its purely military considerations—designed to relieve the tense atmosphere at home.

By this offensive the Nazi ringleaders aimed at turning the rapidly growing pro-peace sentiments into a fresh wave of frenzied chauvinism. The Nazis were driving home to the army and the people that this would be the last great effort; that beyond it was peace. It was a dangerous game, for Hitler was playing with fire. It was dangerous for the Nazis, too, for should the offensive fail the medicine might prove worse than the ailment it was supposed to cure.

This offensive, it must be said, was prepared for very thoroughly. The German High Command kept all preparations a dark secret from the people. But even the uninitiated could tell from the behavior of the Nazis that something big was in the air. Whenever the people complained about the difficulties of wartime, the Nazi higher-ups would significantly wink to each other and reply, in a tone that brooked no contradictions, "Have a little patience, soon there will be no more grounds for complaint."

But there were other and more obvious signs that a large offensive was being prepared. Families of soldiers serving in France and in the Balkans learned from letters that their husbands and sons were hastily being transferred to the Eastern Front. Our comrades in the frontier regions sent word of mass troop movements from Italy, Hungary and Rumania to Russia. In the latter part of September Communist

railwaymen indicated to us that on several trunklines for passengers traffic had been all but stopped to make way for heavy shipments of war materials from France and from the so-called protectorates.

We came into possession of a document which showed that on the eve of the October offensive the German officers were ordered to stop at no sacrifices but to push ahead and achieve the objectives set by the High Command. "Everything within human power . . . has been done to ensure the success of this offensive to capture Russia's vital centers and thus finish the war before winter sets in."

As soon as the new offensive began Germany again resembled a madhouse. Again there was that radio hullabaloo about German victories. Goebbels' chauvinistic delirium surpassed all previous records. But this time, however, not only the workers but even the petty-bourgeois circles accepted the High Command communiqués with ill-concealed skepticism.

On October 9 one of Hitler's lieutenants, Dietrich, addressed the nation over the radio and told the German people that the Russian campaign was coming to an end, that the Russian army no longer existed and that the capture of Moscow was a matter of days.

And though we did not believe this, some of us did feel downhearted. And then, on November 7, our comrades who listen in to foreign radio broadcasts brought the joyful news about which even now I cannot write without excitement. The Soviet Army had held its parade in Red Square and was reviewed by Comrade Stalin, who addressed the troops. Our comrades were able to report almost the whole of Stalin's speech on Red Square and were able to take down most of the important passages of his speech to the Moscow Soviet on November 6.

We immediately set about making arrangements to bring these speeches to the knowledge of the Berlin workers. . . . This was the happiest day we had had since the war began. Questions that had hitherto caused us so much painful thought now became simple, clear and understandable.

Though separated by the front we knew that Stalin was speaking to us too, that he was pointing out what was to be done. Our comrades did not waver when several days later terrible blows were inflicted on us . . . we did not know at that time the outcome of the great battle on the Eastern Front.

The German High Command communiqués were still bragging about the steady advance on Moscow. But the very fact that the Red Army paraded on the Red Square in the heart of the Soviet capital, surrounded as it was on three sides, in deadly peril of German air raids, convinced us that the might of the Soviet people was invincible and that this people would never allow Hitler to take Moscow.

It became clear to us that something had cracked in Hitler's war machine because, despite so much effort, it was brought to a halt outside of Moscow. It was possible,

of course, that not so much the German war technique, nor the German organization, nor the German strategy were at fault, but that the spirit of the men who operated this technique and who were vehicles of this organization and strategy was beginning to give way.

In late November rumors began to spread through Berlin about the reverses suffered by the German army. There was talk of large-scale and bitter fighting around Moscow which had cost Germany colossal losses in manpower. The people were even naming divisions that had been routed or entirely annihilated. Among them was the 95th Infantry Division from Münster, the 76th Infantry Division from Berlin, the 94th from Dresden, the 162nd from Stettin, the 31st Motorized Division from Mannheim, etc. Citizens of these towns showered the authorities with inquiries about the fate of their relatives and friends. Requiem for the dead was said in many churches, particularly in the countryside. Lurid stories of the terrible suffering to which the German soldier was exposed, of men being frozen to death in great numbers, spread throughout the land. It was said that the German soldiers were covered wth dirt, infested by lice, dressed in tatters and that a terrible epidemic of typhus was rampant among them.

These rumors broke the silence and people quite openly began to accuse the High Command and the Nazis of sending the German army to perish from cold in Russia without taking the slightest trouble to clothe it adequately. Hitler was blamed for the provocative war of annihilation for which the German soldiers were now paying with their lives. People were driven to desperation. They were becoming bolder. And this was true not only of the common folk but of certain bourgeois elements as well.

One of our engineer sympathizers told me of a scene he had witnessed on the train passing through Holland. Four oldish German burghers were in his compartment and all of them were openly criticizing Hitler. At one station a Dutchman got on the train and deemed it his duty to warn them that he was a foreigner. One of the Germans replied, "Well, we are not giving away any state secrets. We are simply saying that Hitler has lost the war and certainly you people abroad know this better than we do."

Early in December we learned of the German defeat at Rostov. The ridiculous explanation offered by the German High Command reassured no one. Quite the contrary, this piece of stupid lying, by its confusion and primarily by its unparalleled idiocy, evoked indignation among the Berliners.

Then came the news of the Red Army's counter-offensive at Moscow and Hitler's incoherent statement that the end of the war with Russia had been postponed to spring. This time it looked as if not only the spirit of the German army was beginning to give way, but that the German technique, German organization and German strategy too were beginning to crack. . . . The German is losing faith in victory.

He is also losing patience. He has not the least desire to bear the burdens and sacrifices of a hopeless cause. No longer is he prepared to accept annihilation of whole divisions as a military necessity. Indeed, he is beginning to talk about the senselessness of these sacrifices.

This does not yet mean that the German army will no longer fight. The German soldier is still fighting but he is fighting with a spirit that is already cracked, without that former Prussian brazenness and cocksureness derived from faith in the "Great German" superiority. He is fighting but without any belief, hope or perspective, like a trapped wolf who has no other choice.

The average German knows to what a state Hitler has brought his country. But Hitler has done all this with the hands of the average German. And so long as the latter was confident of victory he was quiet, because he felt that there was no punishment to fear. But now he realizes that he will be called to answer. For the first time there is a feeling of fear for the grim hatred of other peoples, a fear that literally encircles present-day Germany. This fear is utilized by Hitler for his own foul ends. "We will all be hanged from one rope in case of defeat," Goebbels tells the German people. The Nazis want to keep the German people and the German army in submission through fear of defeat. But the greater the dimensions of Germany's present catastrophe the less do the people fear defeat, for no future can be worse than what they are living through at present.

The system of Nazi domination is already beginning to reveal its first cracks. How does this show itself? Primarily in confusion among the Nazis. What has happened to the cocksureness of these kept men of the "Great Reich"? Those who were the first to brag and threaten now sit tight. The differences and enmity between the various cliques within the Nazi camp have again come to the surface. And while the Nazis do not as yet dare to criticize Hitler openly they unrestrainedly wreak their rancor on Goering and particularly on Goebbels, who is the object of universal contempt, even within the Nazi Party.

At the same time distrust in the army leadership and in that section of the officers' corps which joined the Hitlerites only at "the last minute" is maturing in Nazi circles. The Nazis are afraid that, in the event of serious complications, the generals, supported by part of the officer corps, might revolt against Hitler and try to seize power. The Nazis and especially Himmler are trying to get firmer hold of the army. As against old officers they advance less competent Nazi elements to responsible posts in the army and air force. The army leadership is indignant at Hitler's interference in the supervision of military operations. The officers of the old school regard Hitler as an adventurer, an impostor, an ignoramus in questions of warfare. The Generals are greatly offended at Hitler and his lieutenants taking all credit for the successes of the German army and putting all the blame for reverses on the military command.

The German officer corps take the view that in this war, as in previous ones, the army and its commanders have on the whole successfully coped with their tasks. But, as in the last World War, they think the political leadership has let them down. Hitler's hysterical zigzag policy, which resulted in so senselessly increasing Germany's enemies and in isolating the Reich in the international arena, has let them down. A substantial section of the Generals and officer corps regard Hitler's war against Russia as a mistake. Some of the Generals accuse Hitler of having forced the October offensive on the German army. This offensive, they maintain, showed up the army's unpreparedness for a winter campaign and undermined the soldiers' morale. They accuse Hitler of embarking on this offensive not from military considerations but simply to safeguard his own personal prestige.

These sharpening contradictions between the Nazis and the officer corps are but a reflection of the maturing conflict between Hitler and certain sections of the bourgeoisie. The latter are only too willing to support Hitler's reactionary policy at home. Nor did they stint support for his foreign policy so long as the war was successful and so long as Hitler could be relied upon to promote their imperialist plans. But today considerable sections of the bourgeoisie fear the future. Unlike Bismarck, Hitler makes his plans without taking into account the actual relation of forces. He becomes a slave of his own raving conceptions, which have nothing in common with thought out and reasoned policy.

The former "Deutsch Nationale" and "Stahlhelm" adherents are particularly active. They are intensifying their activities particularly among the higher and middle civil servants, already staking their claims to Germany after Hitler's Nazi rule collapses.

Hitler's relations with the Catholics, too, are becoming more strained. Neither in Westphalia nor in the Rhine region have the Catholics, despite repeated arrests, complied with the Nazi demands and given up the fight. The Catholic movement was and remains the sole legal opposition movement within Nazi Germany, possessing a leadership of political figures whom the Nazis regard as their competitors. The Nazis know that the Catholics abhor Hitler and look upon him and his entourage—Goering, Rosenberg, Hess, Darré and others—as a gang of international adventurers who have chosen Germany as a jumping-off ground for their ambitious plans. The Nazis pay back the Catholics with even greater hatred. They accuse them of constituting a state within the state. They claim that their Christian pacifism is but a mask for defeatism, that through the Pope they are in contact with England, that they are conspiring against Hitler, etc.

It is not to be precluded that, should Hitler's affairs take a further turn for the worse, the Nazis may resort to some major political diversion in order to hold on and avoid falling into an abyss. They might themselves stage an "opposi-

tion" made up of hand-picked, reliable men in order to attain peace even if at the expense of Germany's allies. That one may well expect all manner of swindling and trickery from the Nazis has been proved, as you remember, by the story of Hess' "mysterious escape." But, while such maneuvers will hardly deceive anyone abroad, at home, however, they would help the Nazi tricksters in hamstringing a real opposition and canalizing the movement along the lines they themselves desire. So much for the sentiments in the ruling camp.

Much more important for a real appraisal of the situation are the processes taking place among the working people. I shall begin with the peasants or, more correctly, with the peasant women who, in these days of war, constitute the overwhelming majority of our rural population. Certainly there is plenty to irritate the German peasant and peasant women—the shortage of labor, which is only partly compensated for by free labor of war prisoners, the Nazi de facto requisition of all foodstocks, the irritating control by Nazi officials who peep into every corner of a peasant's barn and cowshed, the stringent penalties for clandestine slaughter of livestock and for illicit trade, the fodder shortage which is catastrophically destroying the peasants' cows, pigs and horses. All this, however, is of but secondary importance compared with the bitter hatred that the peasant woman feels for the war and the great human losses it entails.

You must, of course, remember that the German countryside bears the lion's share of the losses at the Eastern Front.

Hitler is compelled to leave a substantial part of the industrial workers at home for war production. But the peasants are only good for cannon fodder. That is why the peasants, both men and women, have taken this war so much to heart. Their dissatisfaction is no passive affair expressed in complaints and lamentations. They oppose this war and fight against it after their own fashion. They are rude to Nazi officials and sabotage their orders. There are clashes between Nazi officials and individual peasants developing into conflicts with whole villages. There were cases of several villages entering into an agreement to lower deliveries of agricultural products to the state. No amount of "patriotic" appeals had any effect on the peasant women and the Nazis were constrained to call in the police.

Worse still for the Nazis is their position with regard to the working class. Germany's working class today is by far not the same as it was six months ago. The suffering caused by war has stirred the workers to action. Like a sledge hammer the Red Army by its blows at the front is shattering their fatal passivity and the opportunist mood of adaptation which grew up in the years of Social-Democratic rule in the German labor movement and later in the years of unrestrained Nazi terror. The working masses, and not only they, are looking for an end to this war. The many-mouthed voice of the people both

behind the lines and at the front is more and more loudly calling out the name of Adolf Hitler. Like a snake, he is trying to wriggle out of the responsibility for the death of millions of Germans.

Like a spotlight, this war of loot against the Soviet Union is showing up the knavish policy of Germany's imperialist bourgeoisie. The mass of workers welcome the progress of the Red Army and no longer take the trouble to conceal this in conversations. In their despair the Nazi ringleaders are going from one extreme to another, not knowing on whom to inflict their blows. The Nazi leadership has issued secret instructions to all its organizations suggesting that in discussions with workers the "argument" advanced should be based more on logic and less on Browning revolvers. To be sure, this is no easy task for the Nazi mind, which is always at odds with logic. It is all the more difficult because the Nazis themselves are losing faith in Goebbels' stock arguments. Nonetheless, following in the wake of Goebbels, they are trying to intimidate the workers with a bogey of a new Versailles. To this the workers reply and with very good reason, "The Soviet Union is not engaged in a war of conquest. It is fighting against Nazi Germany, which attacked it. The Nazis will suffer; all the better for the German people."

The influence of consistent anti-fascists in the factories is growing. The masses' trust in them is increasing. The masses are beginning to realize more and more that we Communists were right in repeatedly warning the German people that Hitler would plunge them into an abyss. Our influence is increasing also because the masses know our record as consistent fighters against all the predatory plans of the German imperialists and today see in us the staunch and determined champions of peace.

The working class masses love Thaelmann, who for eight years has been held hostage by the Nazis. In their understanding Thaelmann's name is inseparable from our party and from its struggle for a new and free Germany. The masses are beginning to heed our slogans.

But a strong barrier to the development of an active mass movement against Hitler is the current feeling that we Germans will be liberated by the Red Army and therefore we need not hurry with our own struggle against him. We try to overcome these sentiments by more painstaking and comprehensive propaganda. No little work is required to expose the cowardly attempts of certain anti-fascist elements who gloss over the question of responsibility which our working class and our people bear for the war against the Soviet Union. "Only the Nazis are responsible for the anti-Soviet war and for the German Army's invasion of the U.S.S.R.," these people maintain. That the Nazi villains are responsible is, of course, beyond a doubt. But we say that those who actually encouraged such crimes by their passivity and silence must bear their share of responsibility. Whoever remains silent exposes himself as a participant in the Nazi

crimes. Anti-fascism confined to four walls and finding no outlet in action is sheer capitulation and not anti-fascism at all. It is not this sorry platonic anti-fascism that we require, but a fighting, effective anti-fascism.

We need deeds, not words, for only by deeds will every conscientious anti-fascist and our working class and our people prove that they have nothing in common with Hitler. Only by action will they be able to obliterate the disgraceful record of Nazi misdeeds, the greatest ever known to history.

Lastly, the greatest difficulty which we encounter is that of overcoming the petty-bourgeois prejudice among our own working class on the question of sabotage. Though we have not completely overcome these prejudices to this day, acts of sabotage multiply with every month of war. There can be not the slightest doubt that the number of such acts will grow as the war drags out. The masses will resort to other forms of struggle and particularly to strikes. In several places the question of strikes is already assuming tangible forms. In the Ruhr, for example, the miners' wives say "Without coal Hitler cannot wage war. If our husbands do not go down to the mines that's the end of Hitler and that's the end of the war."

The Nazis, let it be said, are perfectly aware that events can take a sharp turn and they are taking measures to meet this. Recruitment of foreign labor power into German industry is necessitated not only by the fact that Germany has not enough workers of her own but also by the fact that the Nazis want to create a reserve of strikebreakers should strikes break out.

In Berlin and in other cities armed battalions, to which only reliable Nazi followers are admitted, are being formed in the factories under the pretext of fighting possible enemy parachutists. Workers are not mistaken when they regard these battalions as armed factory guards whose first duty it will be to suppress unrest among the workers. In the last few weeks the Nazi authorities in large cities have evicted people from corner houses and have installed Nazi families in their stead. Here, too, workers can clearly see that the Nazis want to build up machinegun nests that would control the streets in case of so-called disorders.

Lastly, the workers are no less indignant over the fact that in several cities the Nazis are erecting pillboxes at street corners designed to keep several blocks under fire. It is perfectly obvious that the Nazis are preparing one more war, a war against their own people.

I am concluding this letter on the day that Hitler declared war on America. The proverb goes: Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. By attacking the Soviet Union Hitler has signed his own death warrant. By making war on America he is only accelerating the collapse of the Nazi regime.

It is already late at night and a sinister stillness has descended over Berlin. This stillness usually comes before a storm. . . .

Berlin, December 11, 1941.

THE NAZIS' UNRELIABLE HINTERLAND

BY VICTOR POLAR

AS THE war goes on the situation behind the German lines deteriorates. Every day brings fresh proof of the profound correctness and foresight contained in the characterization of Germany's European rear given by Stalin on Nov. 7:

"The German invaders have enslaved the peoples of the European continent from France to the Soviet Baltic, from Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Soviet Byelorussia to the Balkans and the Soviet Ukraine, have deprived them of their elementary democratic liberties, deprived them of the right to control their own destiny, deprived them of grain, meat and raw materials, converted them into their slaves, crucified the Poles, Czechs, and Serbs and decided that by achieving the domination of Europe they would be able to build Germany's world domination on this basis. That is what they call the 'new order in Europe.'

"But what is this 'basis,' what is this 'new order'? Only the Hitlerite self-adulating fools fail to see that the 'new order' in Europe and the notorious 'basis' of this order constitute a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the German imperialist house of cards."*

In several of the occupied countries German fascism can no longer rule unchallenged, as was the case at the beginning of their occupation or even a few months ago. In certain of these countries the Nazi invaders must use regular army units and introduce extreme terrorist measures to maintain domination.

Following their large-scale fighting in Yugoslavia in the autumn, when guerrilla forces dislodged the occupation forces from several towns and even whole provinces, the Germans and Italians thought that winter would bring hostilities to a standstill. But the guerrillas did not give them this respite and the struggle continues with renewed vigor.

In the latter part of December and in January the guerrillas launched a wide offensive and recaptured several points taken by the Germans in October and November, when the Yugoslav patriots were forced to withdraw from some positions under pressure of superior enemy forces. At that time the Germans had concentrated large forces at several points. Thus, no less than three mechanized divisions were dispatched against guerrillas operating around Uzice, Cacak and Sabac. In the course of this struggle the guerrillas harassed

* *Stalin Speaks to the World*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 12.

and wore down the enemy forces and destroyed detached units. Just when the Germans were beginning to think that their position was secure and the guerrillas crushed, the latter launched an offensive and the occupation forces beat a hasty retreat. Across deep snow and in bitter frosts Hitler's beaten wolves moved as fast as they could toward their own haven, Belgrade, while guerrilla pressure continued.

Around Christmas the guerrillas attacked German mechanized troops throughout western Serbia. On December 29 the Belgrade radio reported major battles against the guerrillas around Pzarevac. On December 30 the same station announced a major engagement near the town of Arandzedovac. It was in connection with this engagement that the Germans were constrained, in explanation of their defeat, to speak of the steadfastness of the guerrilla units, declaring that they had large supplies of ammunition and food.

At the close of December and the beginning of January the Belgrade radio announced fighting around Kraljevo, Soko-Banje, Lebane and other towns. In many districts situated between the Sava and Dvina Rivers hostilities continued uninterrupted. Guerrillas dislodged the enemy from Kucevo, Gradiste and Golubac and captured these towns. At the other end of the country the guerrillas surrounded Sarajevo and captured the towns of Olovo, Rogatiga and Mount Romania. In Slovenia practically the whole of the Polyana Valley was cleared of occupation troops. Not infrequently whole units of from fifty to one hundred Germans were killed in battles with the guerrillas. In Croatia guerrilla warfare continues unabated against the Italian and German troops.

Toward the end of December guerrillas surrounded the 4,000-strong Italian garrison at Voina and destroyed a considerable part of it. Cases of Croatian soldiers, forcibly mobilized by Pavelic, joining the guerrillas are increasing.

January was marked by major offensive operations undertaken by Yugoslav guerrillas against the German and Italian troops throughout the country. Fighting spread to new districts and at present guerrilla warfare rages in provinces along the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border. The Belgrade papers are full of reports of battles with various guerrilla detachments. Zagreb papers publish long lists of killed Ustashi. Naturally there are no official data on German losses but reports from Yugoslavia indicate that the occupation forces lost no less than two divisions in killed and wounded in the last three months of 1941.

Mention should also be made of the German soldiers who are joining the guerrillas. In Slovenia, for instance, 120 German soldiers belonging to a German unit dispatched against the guerrillas went over with weapons and equipment.

News of the German defeats at Moscow, Rostov, Kalinin and other sectors of the Soviet-German front serves to encourage the Yugoslav guerrillas. The guerrilla leaders see to it that this news reaches the population at large. With this aim in view the Yugoslav patriots pub-

lish leaflets in large numbers and make use of verbal communications and other forms. Thus the Red Army victories are just as well known in the remote villages of Montenegro as in Belgrade.

The occupation authorities are beside themselves with rage, but they could not hide the fact that in their own ranks and among the miserable handful of national traitors the reports of the Red Army successes evoked panic. On December 29 the Belgrade radio had a special broadcast directed against "panic-mongers." Goebbels' Belgrade flunkeys were forced to admit that the "suspicious" urban "élite" and the Yugoslav intelligentsia, taking no heed of the warning, are systematically spreading Moscow radio announcements and express joy at the Bolshevik victories on the Soviet-German front. However, more than anyone else, the authors of this broadcast were frightened and declared "the influence of such reports may prove fatal for us." The failure of Hitler's plans to conquer Yugoslavia and to set up a "new order" is now admitted also by the German press.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, for example, wrote recently "It became clear of late that the Serbian people are not yet mature for the utilization of the possibilities for active collaboration in establishment of the new order. Many Serbs cannot reconcile themselves to defeat and hope for a repetition of the same solution as saved them in the last World War."

This statement is tantamount to a frank admission of the collapse of the fascist plans to enslave the freedom-loving Yugoslav people.

France holds a special place among the occupied lands. Hitler's leaders are trying to squeeze all the vitality out of France for their robber war machine and are aiming to convert France into an obedient slave. But of late the situation in France is becoming increasingly tense. The resistance by the French people to the German yoke is growing at a rapid tempo. Attempts by the occupation forces to crush the national liberation struggle and French patriotic resistance by bloody terror and reprisals have failed. Execution of hostages, onerous levies on towns and villages, arrests of thousands of men and women, have only served to increase the people's hatred for the Hitlerites.

Following Protest Day of October 31, the French people observed November 11 as the anniversay of the victory over German imperialism in 1918. Though the German authorities did everything possible beforehand to disrupt the Armistice Day celebration, and despite the appeal by the French traitors "not to irritate the Germans," the French population did observe the November event. Workers and office employees stopped work on that day in many factories and firms. As on October 31, the largest industrial plants and small factories and shops downed tools. Work in Renault, Gnome and Rohne, Citroen, Hispano Suiza and other factories, engaged on German orders as well as construction work at Clichy, Oberville and elsewhere ceased. France's largest arsenal at Brest stopped work for five minutes. Work was

stopped in factories and mills at Bordeaux, Noire, Pas de Callais, the Northern Districts and elsewhere. Work in small and middle-sized factories stopped almost everywhere. Many insurance companies, plants and other offices were closed on November 11.

The occupation authorities, fearing large mass demonstrations, spread troops throughout Paris and other large centers. Mechanized units and armored cars patrolled Paris streets from early morning to late at night prepared to repel any attempt at public demonstrations. The Germans were out to intimidate the French people. Martial law was declared in the Latin Quarter, a section inhabited chiefly by university students, and all higher educational institutions were occupied by the military. The veterans of two wars with Germany gathered in many rural communities to observe their traditional holiday. These gatherings were marked by stirring and courageous speeches by veteran fighters who declared their preparedness to take up the struggle against the hated German invader for the liberation of French soil. A large section of the peasantry demonstrated and did not work on November 11, particularly in places where the Germans had requisitioned crops and were exacting taxes and other levies.

Processions to the graves of murdered hostages were held throughout France as all Frenchmen paid homage to the martyrs of their national liberation struggle and pledged a stronger and more energetic fight to destroy the fascist yoke and score a complete victory.

At Amiens, whose representative in Parliament, Jean Catalas, was killed by Hitler's executioners, posters bearing an inscription in honor of the glorious Catalas, who gave his life for French liberation, were posted everywhere. At Dijon, Chalons sur Marne, Brest, Rennes, Angiers and dozens of other towns wreathes bearing inscriptions calling for a further struggle to liberate the country were placed on the graves of the men who fell in the war with Germany in 1940. The Tricolor was flown throughout France on that day and patriotic slogans were inscribed on many buildings. In Paris, despite stringent surveillance by German troops and Pétain's police, French flags and anti-fascist posters were displayed in several districts. Signs bearing the names of men and women executed by the Germans were displayed in Bordeaux and many other towns. In this way November 11 became a day of mighty popular demonstration of hatred for the Nazi oppressors, a day of preparedness to fight until complete victory is achieved.

The situation in France continues to grow sharper since these two last anti-German campaigns and more reports of anti-German actions are at hand. Resistance to German fascism mounted steeply with the beginning of the Red Army's victories at the Soviet-German front. The announcement of the failure of Hitler's plans to surround Moscow and the Red Army's subsequent counter-offensive, broadcast by foreign radio stations and made known by French patriots, made an immense impression in France. This

joyful news was a mighty blow against the lying fascist fairy tale of the German "invincibility" and had its irreparable effect on the troops stationed in France and other occupied countries.

Affection for the Soviet people and the heroic Red Army found expression in the ardent friendly attitude of the population toward Soviet war prisoners. When several groups of Red Army war prisoners were brought to France by the Hitlerites, news of this quickly spread among the population and, despite all manner of threats by the German guards, the Frenchmen thronged to the war prisoners, greeted them, passed over gifts and expressed fraternal solidarity. The Soviet war prisoners saw and felt this friendliness and anti-fascist solidarity of the French people.

Influenced by successes of Soviet troops in their battle against the common enemy, anti-German sabotage in industry increased, as did acts of diversion and clashes with German patrols on the streets. Anti-German sabotage by French patriots at the Hotchkiss plants led to spoilage of forty-two machine tools. An electric power plant was put out of commission at Durges. Two military trains were wrecked at Abbéville. The electric power plant on the Esquot Canal was put out of commission, and this important German transport route was brought to a standstill. At several factories, and among them the Cresot Mills, sabotage assumed such proportions that production was actually disrupted. At one of the Hotchkiss plants the output was stopped completely.

At the Citroen Plant part of the machinery necessary for manufacturing equipment for the German army was put out of commission, resulting in a decline in output from 18,000 to 5,000 vehicles.

Spontaneous demonstrations against the Germans are becoming an ever more frequent occurrence in French towns. In the early part of January the Paris students organized a protest demonstration against the execution of hostages. The demonstration was brutally suppressed. The marchers were met by machine-gun fire and thirty-two were killed. A large group of women demonstrated at Montbeliard, demanding improved food rations. At Troyes a crowd of patriots raided the German headquarters. The wrath of the French people more and more finds expression in acts against the traitors who sold themselves to the Germans. Only recently there was news of the death of Paringaut, the right-hand man of Home Minister Pucheu. Other smaller fry among the traitors and spies were also destroyed. Dissatisfaction at the protracted war and the deterioration of the military situation are beginning to tell in the German garrisons stationed in France. This process of disintegration is particularly noticeable among the troops from the Soviet-German front dispatched here after the rout of their units. Thus dejection prevails among the German soldiers arriving from the Soviet-German front toward the end of December and stationed at the Channel coast. There is no trace of the one-time brazenness and boasting of "invincibility" so typical

of German units in the first period after the invasion of France. Soldiers fresh from the front tell their fellow servicemen, and not infrequently the French population as well, about the defeat and suffering of Hitler's troops.

Many soldiers say that if they are again sent to the front they will commit suicide. Desertion is on the increase. The German military police are kept busy hunting down fugitive soldiers who find shelter among the civilian population. Anti-war sentiments are even more pronounced among the troops stationed at Saone et Loire, where there are approximately 15,000 men transferred from the Soviet-German front. Often clashes occur between the soldiers in the regular garrison and the men arriving from the Soviet-German front. Many of the latter refuse to salute officers. German soldiers quartered in one Paris suburb have been known to refuse to carry out orders and howl down their officers. At one place in Southern France the soldiers, dissatisfied by orders to proceed to the Soviet-German front, placed trucks across the railway tracks to hinder the train from leaving. Great is the soldiers' hatred for S.S. men living comfortably behind the lines.

In reply to the growing resistance of the masses the Nazis are taking more and more brutal measures of reprisal. The fascist executioners are putting to death hundreds of hostages and throwing thousands of French patriots into prison. Anyone daring to raise his voice in defense of French freedom does so at the penalty of death. In Nantes a group of hostages were executed. Among them were twenty-three Communists including Charles Michels, Secretary of the Leather Workers Federation; Temeux, Secretary of the Paris Metal Workers Union; Poulmarche, Secretary of the Chemical Workers Union, and many other trade union and public leaders closely associated with the masses of workers. Before being taken to the firing squad they wrote on the walls of their cells "We do not fear death. Long Live the U.S.S.R.! Long Live France!"

The fascist murderers killed Gabriel Peri, one of the editors of *l'Humanité,* and Sampaix, Secretary of *l'Humanité.* Both were among the most courageous fighters against German fascism and died like heroes. They stood before the firing squad with heads raised high, thus setting an example of steadfastness and courage to the French people. The German cutthroats cannot break the militant spirit of the fighters for French liberation. New forces arise to take the place of the killed and tortured. The heroism of the men sentenced to death by the Germans serves as a mighty call to enhance the struggle against the oppressors.

* * *

In Norway, except for an insignificant fraction of dubious elements such as can be found in any country, the people are unitedly fighting the alien invasion. Workers and employees, merchants and peasants, civil servants and students and women from all walks of life, all religions, all parties, are one in their united will to fight for the liberation of their homeland.

With the establishment of a regime of open terror, the Norwegians have been compelled to wage their liberation struggle under more difficult conditions and often secretly. This struggle entails great sacrifice, much more than in the first period, but this has only intensified it and given it more resolution. The introduction of emergency legislation has been primarily directed against working class action. First to be prosecuted under these laws were leaders of trade unions, which were always very strong in Norway.

Other sections of the people fight in a united front with the workers against the common foe. The idea of this wide national front against the oppressors has already found concrete organizational expression. There exists in Norway a joint, militant organization publishing the newspaper *Popular Front.* The vehicles of this movement are the Norwegian Labor Party and the Communists. True, their cooperation is not without its difficulties, but this is not surprising in the initial stage of joint activities of an absolutely new nature.

On the one hand these difficulties are connected with secret work in face of such savage terror, on the other hand they follow from deep differences dividing both parties in former party strife. The unification of all freedom-loving elements in one fighting front is a long process for the individual participants, in which they will acquire confidence in each other only after joint activities which will bring them closer together. The basic factor, however, is that all the participants in the movement realize the need for cooperation and are motivated by a comradely desire to overcome any difficulties which may arise. This cooperation grew out of need and danger. On the basic question of liberating the homeland there is 100 per cent unanimity.

Norway has several other illegal papers appearing fairly regularly in addition to *Popular Front.* They reach a large circle of readers in the towns. But *Popular Front* has the largest circulation and reaches the population almost regularly. The Norwegians are in close touch with the situation at the fronts and with world events. The foreign invaders see in the spread of information among the Norwegians a threat to their rule. They have accordingly coordinated the entire Norwegian press, utilizing tested Nazi methods, and have forced the Norwegians to give up their radios.

However, what the individual Norwegian hears on the radio becomes common property through the illegal press and special radio bulletins. The Norwegians rejoice at every Red Army victory and appreciate only too well the turn in the fighting at the Eastern Front.

They are confident in the might and power of the British Empire and look forward to the day when British troops will land in Norway and, aided by the Norwegians, will oust the invaders.

In these grim days of severe ordeal the Norwegian people are more determined than ever neither to forget nor forgive the atrocities perpetrated against them. The execution of two outstanding Norwegian trade union leaders by the Nazis was followed by the murder of

scores of active functionaries and the imprisonment of thousands of patriots. The German thugs are looting Norway, exporting every bit of raw material, food and timber, and are taking warm clothing from the population. The Norwegians are retaliating by sustained sabotage in the industries working on German orders, by burning war depots, by guerrilla action and open manifestations of their hatred for the invaders and Quisling traitors.

When the Germans proceeded to confiscate warm clothing and skis for the lice-ridden German troops freezing at the Soviet-German front, the leaders of the Norwegian patriots appealed to the population to give nothing to the army of Norway's mortal foes. This appeal was printed in the secret press, circulated in countless illegal leaflets and papers, and passed from mouth to mouth. It says "We are at war with the Germans, and every Norwegian citizen is a soldier in this war. Therefore every Norwegian must do everything within his power to see that warm clothing does not reach the enemy. Better burn them than surrender them to the Germans."

Thousands of patriots followed this advice. In several Norwegian cities things came to open clashes with the occupation forces. In Stavanger, for instance, numerous acts of sabotage in war factories and destruction of telephone lines used by the German garrison evoked endless repressions against the population and the town was made to pay 2,000,000 kroner fine. But this only resulted in still greater unrest and spontaneous demonstrations. The Germans used troops against the demonstrators.

Guerrillas continue their activities in northern Norway. A famed guerrilla detachment commanded by Larsen is engaged in a heroic struggle. The guerrillas have destroyed railway bridges and thus hamper shipments of food and ammunition for the enemy troops operating in Finland. They destroyed the railway line and have often attacked German supply bases in the remote North, annihilating German guards and destroying supplies. Two landings carried out by the British forces on the Norwegian coast made a profound impression on Norway. News of these landings spread like a prairie fire throughout the country. The population learned with joy that the Nazi nest on Vangso Island was destroyed and groups of Quislings captured and taken to England. The patriots of little Norway, which is combating German fascism so bravely and with such fortitude, regarded these landings as indicative of the real possibility of much awaited aid from the major democratic powers.

The Nazi soldiers feel at every step the hatred and contempt of the oppressed people. When a German soldier enters a street car all Norwegians sitting near him rise and walk away. Some Norwegians who come into contact with Nazi soldiers report widespread discontent among them.

The Norwegian people, despite the oppression and terror, take an optimistic view of the prospects for their liberation struggle. This enhances their will to fight harder still.

THE FASCIST MURDERERS AND THEIR ACCOMPLICES WILL BE CALLED TO RESPONSIBILITY

BY M. FRIED

THE Soviet Government's note of January 6, 1942, regarding the monstrous atrocities of the German occupation troops in captured Soviet territories is no ordinary diplomatic document. It is addressed to all civilized mankind, to all honest men, and it brings German fascism before the judgment of the peoples. The whole world knows that the German fascists are a gang of murderers, pillagers and incendiarists. The whole world knows what this band has destroyed in Germany itself and what destruction they have brought and continue to bring in occupied Europe. They ruthlessly loot occupied lands, dooming the population to starvation and want. They remove whole factories and plants, leaving hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed, and thus compel them to enter forced labor camps in Germany. They try by all means to degrade and insult the honor and dignity of subjugated nations.

In the occupied countries they kill thousands who are guilty only of not wanting to be slaves of foreign invaders. In France, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia they execute thousands of innocent hostages. All nations are keeping an account of this torment and suffering caused by Hitler's bandits, and the day will come when this account will be presented. This, in effect, was announced on January 13 at the London conference of countries now occupied by Hitler's Nazis. In its declaration the conference confirmed that one aim of the Allied countries in this war is to punish those who are guilty and responsible for the torture, executions and suffering of their peoples.

There is no limit to the Nazi brutality in the enslaved European countries. Yet the facts brought to light by the Soviet Note exceed all the crimes hitherto committed by the Nazi clique. The annals of civilized history furnish no parallel, for even the history of the most brutal wars of the Vandals and Huns knows of no such savagery.

"The Hitlerite army," the Molotov Note says, "wages not an ordinary war, but a bandit war to exterminate the peace-loving peoples standing in the way of the German fascist criminals' aspiration for domination over other peoples and over the whole world. The Hitlerite Government of Germany, which treacherously attacked the

Soviet Union, ignores all provisions of international law in making war, and all requirements of human morality. It wages war, in the first place, against the peaceful, unarmed population—women, children and old folk—thus revealing its wild, bandit nature."

When, some time ago, Hitler's one-time friend, Rauschning, told the world that Hitler in a conversation with close associates outlined a plan to destroy whole nations many simply refused to believe this. It seemed incredible that any such fiendish thought could be conceived by a human mind. But now, on Soviet territory captured by German fascists, this plan of Hitler's, monstrous for its animal lust for blood, is being put into practice.

Molotov's note cites numerous atrocities, supported by documentary evidence. And yet this is but an insignificant fraction of the crimes committed by the fascist mad dogs on Soviet territory and against the Soviet people.

Every honest man is filled with wrath and hatred for the fascist brutes who commit these vile, heinous crimes. The blood of their victims, killed and hung, shot and tortured, cries out for vengeance against the murderers.

On Soviet territory the German fascists are looting all public property just as they are looting all personal property of the civilian population — everything including children's toys—and what they cannot remove they mercilessly destroy. The Nazis drive the civilian population from their homes into the bitter winter cold. Hundreds of thousands of people are left without food or shelter.

The fascist skunks dishonor Soviet women. They rape young girls and subject their victims to torture and death. Incomplete data reveal that in seven cities captured by the Nazi miscreants—Lvov, Odessa, Kiev, Kamenetz-Podolsk, Dniepropetrovsk, Mariupol and Kerch—they killed or tortured to death no less than 113,000 people.

The suffering of men, women, old men, children and wounded Red Army war prisoners who happen to fall into the clutches of Hitler's beasts defies description. Only the Nazi fiends could crush an infant to death just because its crying interfered with their sleep. Only the bloodthirsty Nazi rabble could make a target of a baby. Only a depraved Nazi degenerate in officer's uniform could drive all inhabitants to the village green and machinegun them without pretext, simply to satisfy his own sadist instincts. Only a Hitler officer is capable of forcing the civilian population to build fortifications and then shooting every single one of them, just to preserve the military secret. And, naturally, only the fascist scum, which chooses to style itself as the "superior race," could so barbarically destroy invaluable cultural monuments and desecrate the memory of Leo Tolstoy, Tschaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Chekhov and other outstanding representatives of the great Russian culture.

The retreating Hitler hordes lay waste to every town from which they are driven by the Red Army. This fate has befallen hundreds of

Soviet villages and dozens of towns. Thrown into fury by their reverses at the front, Hitler's army of plunderers, with diabolical methodicalness, translates into deeds its slogan "leave only a desolate zone behind."

"This base and criminal destruction of our towns and villages," we read in Molotov's Note, "gives expression to the dark Hitlerite hatred of our country, of the labor and achievements of the Soviet people, and of what has already been done to improve the life of peasants, workers and intellectuals in the U.S.S.R."

The Soviet government's note stresses with convincing force that all the crimes committed by the German fascists are not isolated and incidental, not the excesses of individuals or groups perpetrated without the knowledge or will of the German High Command. They constitute a system prescribed from above, a system thought out in all its details and followed everywhere. There is documentary proof that the looting and humiliation, torture and executions, wholesale annihilation of the population, represent a system carefully elaborated by the German government and the German High Command. This monstrous system of atrocities is described with incredible cynicism in an order signed by Field Marshal Reichenau and approved by Hitler which was discovered among Gestapo files in Kalinin after its liberation by the Soviet troops. The order says that supplying food to the population and war prisoners is "unnecessary humanism," that only buildings necessary to house the German troops must be protected against fire, that "artistic or historical values in the East are of no significance to us," that the entire male population must be destroyed in order to avert possible "outbursts."

The Soviet Note sounds a grim warning to all those guilty of fascist crimes:

"Not only the Red Army, but the whole of our multi-millioned people is filled with burning hatred and craves merciless revenge for the blood and shattered lives of Soviet citizens. The Soviet people will never forget the brutalities, violence, devastation and humiliation which the bestial bands of the German invaders inflicted and continue to inflict on the peaceful population of our country. They will not forget and pardon."

The responsibility for the misdeeds of the Nazi forces on Soviet soil, for the atrocities against the Soviet people and for all the robber actions of the fascist brutes falls on Hitler, on his chieftains, on the criminal fascist government and on the German High Command.

The responsibility falls on the S.S. bandits and other Nazi degenerates who are guilty of the wholesale murder of civilians, of subjecting to hellish torture the wounded Red Army men, women, children and the aged. But the responsibility is shared also by those soldiers who, fulfilling the criminal orders of their superiors, reduce to ruins the Soviet towns and villages, loot the

population and collective farms in order to supply the fascist hordes, and take part in the execution of death sentences against the Soviet citizens.

These nightmarish crimes disgrace the German nation. No one in Germany can today make the excuse that these atrocities were unknown because the fascist rulers hid the facts from the German people. Thousands of letters written by German soldiers relate how the Hitler warriors "organize," that is, steal; how they maltreat civilians. These letters speak of these things as ordinary common occurrences. And what about the thousands of letters received by the German soldiers at the front from relatives and friends, particularly in the first months of the war, with numerous requests to "organize" and send them various valuable articles which under no circumstances can be classed as war trophies.

But after the publication of Molotov's Note, which despite all barriers will become widely known in Germany, too, the German people can know the entire truth about the brutality of the Nazi army. And if the German people and primarily the German working class will continue silence, if they fail to raise a powerful voice of protest, they will be inviting responsibility for the crimes committed by the Hitlerites in their name.

It is the tragedy of the German people that the Nazi villains have been able to poison extensive sections of the people with their mad chauvinism, inspire them with contempt for other nations and inculcate in them the insane view that the Germans are a select race for which everything is permissible.

For is it not a disgraceful fact that a German war prisoner who was highly indignant at the unjust treatment of the Germans in prewar Poland finds no other explanation of the inhuman treatment of the Poles meted out by the Hitlerites than "but these are not Germans."

What moral deterioration of the average German is expressed in these words "but these are not Germans"—therefore everything is permissible.

It is a fact that a respectable German frau, who would feel no end of disgrace were her husband arrested for theft in Germany, writes to him at the front in the most matter of fact manner asking him to "organize" stockings and a fur coat, even if it is at the cost of many civilian lives.

And what about the German burgher who at home belonged to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and was highly indignant whenever he saw a driver applying his whip to a horse, but who now looks on with animal-like indifference at the mass violence and torture committed against Soviet citizens and more often than not takes part in these himself?

And what about the respectable German who at home was a member of the society for redemption of fallen women and who looks by while drunken German soldiers commit mass rape, and more often than not takes part himself?

In short, everything is permissible

against non-Germans and no laws hold good with regard to other nations.

This knavish "morality," which German imperialism through Hitler deliberately and systematically has implanted for years among the German petty bourgeoisie and which particularly has taken hold of a substantial part of the German youth, this "morality" has made possible the incredible crimes of the Nazi gangs. It is time that the German people put an end to this disgraceful and dishonorable "morality" which separates them like a chasm from all other nations. It is time that they put an end to the situation where the Nazi hordes commit their infernal crimes in the name of the German people. The German people who have no desire to see this Hitler war continued, who are eager to see it brought to a close, cannot but realize that only by determined action against the Hitler regime can they dissociate themselves from the gruesome Nazi crimes and restore the trust of nations.

No amount of brutal terror can hinder the German people from taking action at this hour so crucial for their destiny. The shame which Hitler and his gang have brought on the very name of German can be obliterated only by the German people themselves. The German people can rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the whole world only by a self-sacrificing struggle against the entire Hitler system, against the atrocities committed by the Hitler regime on other peoples. They can rehabilitate themselves by overthrowing Hitler and his gang—by overthrowing the detested Nazi tyranny.

THE POLISH PEOPLE IN BATTLE AGAINST HITLER OCCUPATION

BY SOPHIE BOGDANSKA

THE Polish people have gone through endless suffering and perils in their long history. But never before has their lot been so terrible as today under the bloody reign of fascism. Never before have they been subjected to such a severe ordeal. Poland was the first to become a victim of Nazi imperialist attack, and the notorious Hitler "New Order" has been carried to extremes in Poland. The Nazis have put their barbarian race theory into operation, showing their boundless hatred for the Slavs. The Germans are converting Poland into a ruined, desolate land. Many of the Polish towns and villages have been burned and destroyed, and tens of thousands of Poles shot, hanged and tortured in Hitler's dungeons. Millions die from hunger, cold and want. Hundreds of thousands languish in prisons and concentration camps. Poland is ruled by a gang of fascist murderers, by creatures like Frank Greiser and Waschter, who make it a practice to loot the population, rape the women and kill the old men and children.

Having invaded Poland the Nazis dismembered it. Traditional Polish lands like Posnan, Lodz, Dombrov, Basin and other purely Polish districts have been directly annexed to Germany, while the remaining provinces were declared a "general government," which is completely subordinated to Germany.

Poland is the first country in Europe which the Germans openly declared would be deprived of statehood. The Poles enjoy not even a semblance of national rights. The Germans intend to obliterate once and for all the very name of Poland. The new names which the Germans gave to the remnants of the Polish state have nothing to indicate their Polish background.

The Nazi invaders insult the national honor of the Polish people, subject them to humiliation and treat them as a lower race. Over a million Poles have been deported from Pomerania, Posnan, Ciassia, Lodz, driven from the native soil watered by their sweat and blood. Their lands and property were turned over to German colonists, Hitlerite robbers. The Nazis have fleeced Poland, destroyed her industries and shipped off to Germany equipment, stocks, finished products, raw materials and foodstuffs. Not only the Polish state monopolies and railways, but all the large privately owned factories, mills,

mines and farms have been seized by the occupation forces, who now wax rich on the centuries of labor put in by the Polish workers and peasants.

The German invaders requisition from the Polish peasants all the grain, cattle, milk, meat and eggs. They ruin the peasants by endless taxation and compulsory labor service, and doom them to death by indescribable want.

Poland has been converted into a colony of fascist Germany, and the Polish people have been made slaves and deprived of elementary human rights. Forced labor with no payment, or at best at starvation wages, has been introduced for all men, women and adolescents.

The German fascists round up the Polish girls in all cities and force them into brothels for the Nazi soldiery.

Millions of workers and peasants are being driven to the Reich into forced labor camps where they are treated worse than cattle, exploited beyond all endurance and branded like slaves—compelled to wear special armlets with the letter "P." The German laws provide for severe punishment of Germans who maintain any personal contact with Polish workers.

The Nazis want to destroy part of the Polish people and Germanize the remainder. Polish towns, streets and squares are now given German names. Polish culture is being destroyed. All the Polish universities, middle schools and most elementary schools have been closed. The same fate befell the Polish theaters and cinemas. Polish libraries were plundered and wrecked, as well as museums, and scientific institutions, with their treasures representing a thousand years of development of Polish and European culture. Valuable productions of Polish art have been destroyed or taken to Germany. Monuments to Poland's fine sons, Kosciusko and Mieckiewicz were destroyed, as was the historical monument in honor of the Grünwald victory.

Ever since the Germans occupied Poland not one book has appeared in Polish, nor is there any legal newspaper published by Poles. The Nazi invaders are exterminating Poland's intelligentsia and putting to death Polish savants of world repute. Hundreds of Polish teachers are doomed to a slow death in Nazi prisons. Polish intellectuals are dying from unemployment and hunger. The Nazis insult the religious feelings of the Catholic population and prohibit religious services. Hundreds of patriots and Catholic clergymen are kept in prison and many of them tortured to death. All Polish cities have been divided into nationality sections. The best residential quarters were taken over by the Germans. Not only the German occupation authorities, but the Germans formerly residing in Poland were classed as "master caste" and enjoy numerous privileges.

The Nazi occupation forces are particularly brutal in their treatment of the Jews, who have been segregated in terrible ghettos and abandoned to die of hunger.

The most sinister days of the middle ages provide no parallel for

this brutality and trampling of human dignity. By terror and promises of material advantages the Nazi invaders have repeatedly attempted to enlist the "collaboration" of the most reactionary and demoralized elements. Isolated cases of treachery by these elements evoke only the unanimous and indignant rebuff of Polish public opinion, and the traitors receive the retribution they deserve. This pressure of the wholesome public opinion of the Polish people explains why Hitler found no Quislings in Poland. The Polish people love liberty and have proved this by centuries of heroic battle for their own independence and the independence of other nations of Europe and America. "For your liberty and ours"—under this slogan Polish blood was shed in Poland, France, Italy and North America. It was shed together with the blood of the Russian people in a joint struggle against tsarism. The names of Thaddeus Kosciusko, Bartos Hlowacki, Heinrich Dombrowski, Jaroslaw Dombrowski, Adam Mieckiewicz, Ludwig Warinski, Felix Felitz Dzerzhinsky, and other glorious sons of the Polish people are symbols of this unyielding struggle for liberty.

When Nazi Germany sent its hordes against Poland in September, 1939, the Polish people and the Polish soldiers rose to a man to defend their homeland against the invaders. Never to be forgotten as an example of this spirit was the heroic defense of Warsaw by almost unarmed workers, and their courageous stand at Westerplatte.

But five years of pro-Hitler foreign policy and reactionary policy at home pursued by Poland's rulers brought the country to a state in which she was disarmed in the face of the attacking Nazi hordes. Poland was deprived of help from without, which would have been forthcoming if the Eastern Mutual Assistance Pact, proposed by the Soviet Union but rejected by the Polish rulers, had been concluded. At the very height of the Polish army's struggle against the Nazi hordes, the Skladkowski-Beck government and the Supreme Military Command headed by Smigly-Ridz abandoned the Polish people and the soldiers to their own fate, and fled the country. The boundless self-sacrifice and heroism of the Polish people stood out in sharp contrast to this disgraceful behavior of Poland's rulers of that time.

But even following Poland's occupation the people did not reconcile themselves and did not consider themselves vanquished by the Germans. They maintained an ardent faith in liberation. The heroic Polish working class, millions of Polish peasants, Polish intelligentsia, Polish youth and Polish Jews, whose lot is worst of all, are welded together in their hatred for the Nazi invaders. From the very first day of occupation the resistance to the fascist oppressors in one form or another never abated. But for a long time this was an unequal struggle.

Poland's battle against German fascism received a new and mighty impulse after Hitler's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union. Ranged

against the Nazi invaders are the two-hundred-million-strong Soviet people and their heroic Red Army, supported by the great democratic states, Great Britain and the U.S.A., as well as by all other freedom-loving nations.

In his mad robber plan of conquering the world Hitler designated as a primary task the ousting and extermination of the Slav peoples —the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Ukrainians and Byelorussians. But the freedom-loving Slav peoples will never be slaves. Shoulder to shoulder with the great Russian people they are marching in a sacred war of liberation from the Nazi yoke. The united front to combat the Nazi invasion has been formed and is bound to gain strength in the course of joint struggle. The unity of the Slav peoples now created has nothing in common with the former reactionary Pan-Slavism. Pan-Slavism was a vehicle of the imperialist tendencies of Russian tsarism and its ambition to rule and oppress all the Slav peoples. The slogan of Slav unity proclaimed at the All-Slav Rally in Moscow in August, 1941, and now being translated into deeds, signifies the policy of respect for the sovereignty of each people and stands for unity on equal terms, a joint struggle against the Nazi enemy, for a battle to gain the liberty and independence of all Slav peoples.

The wide masses of the Polish people realize that only by unity with other Slav nations, by an alliance with the powerful Soviet state and as part of the great anti-Hitler coalition can Poland acquire her liberty and independence. This explains why the Soviet-Polish Treaty of June 30, 1941, and the Soviet-Polish declaration of friendship and mutual assistance of December 4, 1941, were greeted in Poland with such enthusiasm and satisfaction.

The policy of friendship and mutual assistance with the U.S.S.R. is the only correct policy from the viewpoint of the interests of the Polish people.

"Unlike Hitler Germany," Stalin pointed out, "the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the U.S.S.R. from Hitler tyranny. Therefore, all honest people must support the armies of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the other allies, as armies of liberation.

"We have not and cannot have such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories, the subjugation of foreign peoples, regardless of whether it concerns peoples and territories of Europe or peoples and territories of Asia, including Iran. Our first aim consists in liberating our territory and our peoples from the German fascist yoke.

"We have not and cannot have such war aims as imposing our will and our regime on the Slavs and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are awaiting our aid. Our aid consists in assisting these people in their liberation struggle against Hitler tyranny and then setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire. No intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other peoples!"*

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* *Stalin Speaks to the World*, Workers Library Publishers, pp. 14-15.

The Soviet-Polish declaration expresses the unyielding will of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Poland, in coalition with Great Britain and the other allies, to attain a complete victory over the Nazi invaders, to achieve their complete destruction and annihilation.

The declaration says:

"Nazi imperialism is the bitterest enemy of mankind and no compromise with it is possible. . . . In times of peace the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland will be based on good neighbor cooperation, friendship and reciprocal, sincere fulfillment of the obligations undertaken by both countries."

But this does not cover the entire significance of the declaration. It also sets forth guarantees which will secure—after the victorious termination of the war and commensurate punishment of the Hitler criminals—a lasting, durable and just peace. Such guarantees can be found only in the new organization of international relations based on unity of democratic countries in firm alliance. The decisive factor for the establishment of such an organization must be respect for international law, supported by the collective armed force of all allied states.

The Soviet-Polish declaration of friendship and mutual assistance, and the fact that a large Polish army has been formed on Soviet territory, serve to inspire new hope in all Polish patriots, fortify their will to struggle and enhance confidence that the day is nearing when the joint effort of the Soviet and Polish peoples, aided by a powerful anti-Hitler coalition, will bring Poland liberty from the accursed Hitler yoke.

Hitler's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union called forth widespread indignation among the working people of Poland and resulted in intensifying the liberation struggle. Even the Hitler press has been forced to publish more reports of patriotic action, of guerrilla detachments, of death sentences imposed on Polish guerrillas for assassination of German officials and police, or for sabotage. The Nazi press is publishing more and more announcements promising a high reward for information leading to the arrest of perpetrators of these acts and of guerrillas. Needless to say, these appeals find no response among the Polish people. The Poles are fighting valiantly, and no terror, no amount of persecution and torture, no sacrifices, however terrible, can daunt them in their struggle for liberty. This struggle will indeed develop to its culminating point, a popular Polish insurrection against the Nazi army of occupation. The Polish people are preparing for it, they are gathering and mustering their forces. Their rich tradition of national liberation struggle, their love of liberty and unyielding faith in their own powers—all this is proof that the development of Poland's national liberation movement will proceed along this path.

The heroic exploits of the Red Army and the Soviet partisans, the very fact that a large Polish Army exists side by side with the Red

Army, and the glorious deeds of the Polish flyers and soldiers, inspire the people in this struggle. However, the existence of Polish armies abroad cannot take the place of the struggle in Poland proper. And the people in Poland are coming to realize ever more that an active popular struggle against Hitler fascism within the country is necessary. The Polish people have every possibility for accelerating the fall of German fascism by their struggle.

The Red Army's heroic resistance and the offensive operations recently launched have caused much damage to Hitler's war machine. Troop trains heading for the Soviet-German front pass through Poland. All Poland's industry and agriculture is used by the Germans in the interests of their criminal war. More, the vile Nazi invaders have gone to the extent of forcibly mobilizing the Poles into their robber army, the army of executioners of the Polish people; resorting to threats and punishment, they drive Polish peasants to work in front line zones. Recently this evoked resistance in several villages. The movement was brutally crushed by the Germans, who burned down four villages and shot 160 people, including many women and children.

The task of the Polish people at present is to develop fully all forms of the liberation struggle—sabotage and wrecking activities in transport and industry working for the Germans, and in grain deliveries, widespread guerrilla warfare—and to prepare for a popular Polish insurrection. The joint struggle against the Nazi occupation and joint action against the enemy are resulting in a rapprochement of the various political trends in Poland. True Polish patriots from all sections of the population and all political trends realize the need for uniting all the forces of the people for a joint and devoted struggle to liberate their country from the Hitlerite yoke.

There is no doubt that a wide basis exists for the unification of all anti-Hitler groups and trends into a single Polish national front for struggle against the fascist occupation and for a free and independent Poland. This national liberation front will provide ample scope for every true son of the Polish people. Everyone who wishes to take any part at all in Poland's fight for liberation must enter the ranks of this national front.

Particular activity, courage, steadfastness and self-sacrifice in the struggle against the Hitler occupation are being displayed by the glorious Polish proletariat, that tried champion of liberty. Poland's proletariat has always marched in the front ranks of the national liberation struggle and today, too, it holds the place of honor in the fight against the Nazi invader. The Polish workers sabotage German war orders, worsen the quality of the ammunition produced, derail German troop trains, destroy Gestapo men and German officers and play a leading part in the guerrilla movement. The proletariat gives the national front of struggle against the Hitler occupation the necessary force, durability and resolution and paves the way to victory for the

Polish people. The national liberation front will enter into a life-and-death battle against the Hitler oppressors. It will be ruthless in dealing with the traitors to the Polish national cause and with capitulators. The national liberation front will develop an extensive guerrilla movement and numerous other forms of struggle against the occupation. It will make comprehensive preparations for a popular Polish insurrection and will lead it to victory.

Once the Nazi hordes are defeated and annihilated, and the Polish land cleared of the foe, the Polish people and they alone will determine Poland's destiny and system of government. All honest Polish patriots and Polish people are fighting for a free, independent Poland, for a Poland without fascism, without the disgraceful ghetto and without national oppression. They are fighting for a Poland which will know no unemployment, poverty or hunger, which will give its workers the eight-hour day, comprehensive social insurance, free organizations, and in which the land will belong to the Polish people. They are fighting for a Poland in which everyone will be able to develop fully their physical and mental talents, in which education will be brought within the reach of the people and where the people will enjoy peace, liberty and abundance. This is a Poland of which its people dream, taught by the twenty years experience of post-war Poland, by the lessons of the present war and by the terrible trials of two years of Hitler occupation.

This Poland, united by a lasting alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the other democratic countries, will be stronger than ever and no world storms will hold any perils for her.